1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongan Society

By

EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

INTRODUCTION

The bulk of the material presented in this paper was recorded in 1920- 101
1921 during my sojourn of nine months in Tonga as a member of the 114
Bayard Dominick Expedition of Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

This paper does not attempt a complete incorporation of all previously 114
published Tongan data but only such materials as seem pertinent to the [128]
discussion in hand. To some extent, therefore, the reader who desires detail will find it necessary to consult other publications. Of published works Mariner's Tonga Islands (40)[1] is by far the most extensive and possesses the merit of great accuracy and understanding on the part of its author. Doubtless Mariner's work is to be regarded as the standard by which modern work is to be checked. A comparison of Mariner's records with mine near the completion of my sojourn in Tonga revealed a surprising similarity in the two sets of data recorded more than a century apart. Judged by this standard the data recorded in this paper have a relatively high degree of accuracy in spite of 75 years of Christianity in Tonga.

I express my gratitude to the numerous Tongans and Caucasians, all 127
resident in Tonga, whose names appear in various places throughout this 124
work. A considerable number of people kindly put at my disposal manuscripts recorded by themselves, by their forefathers, or by their predecessors in office. Special mention should be made of the archives of the Methodist and Catholic churches, of the Tamaha's genealogies, which were kindly put at my disposal by Her Majesty, the Queen of Tonga, of a manuscript by the matapule Elia Malupo which was loaned me by the Prince Consort Tungi, and of the manuscript materials put at my disposal by the late J. P. Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu Island. By far my greatest debt of gratitude is owing to the Reverend E. E. V. Collocott of the Methodist church, who most unselfishly put at my disposal a considerable quantity of ethnological material which he had personally recorded with the idea of ultimately publishing.

The future progress of research in the development of Tongan culture 000
lies largely in the hands of the Tongan rulers. When they allow the

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[1] The numbers in parentheses refer to the list of Literature Cited (p. 351).

[p. 3]
[pp. 1-2 are blank]

From early times it evidently had been the custom for the Tui Tonga to 643
take as his principal wife the daughter of some powerful chief; thus the 175
daughters of the Tui Haa Takalaua were married by a few Tui Tonga. 581
Then they drop from view and thereafter the Tui Tonga takes as his chief wife a daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu, apparently thereby acknowledging the superiority of the Tui Kanokupolu over the Tui Haa Takalaua.

THE MALE TUI TONGA

SEQUENCE OF THE TUI TONGA

With the death of Laufilitonga, the thirty-ninth Tui Tonga, December 175
9, 1865, the sway of the so-called "priest-kings" of Tonga came to an end. 643
No successor to Laufilitonga was appointed, but the office was absorbed by 173
the reigning Tui Kanokupolu, George I Tupou. The traditional founder of the dynasty was Ahoeitu, who probably came into power some time in the tenth century.

It should be borne in mind, however, that if tradition is to be relied upon the Ahoeitu dynasty of kings was preceded by an earlier dynasty (26, p. 38): "This world was first inhabited by the offspring of the worm, and Kohai was first made Tui Tonga of the world. And his people were dwelling there [in Tonga]."

Williamson (64, vol. 1, pp. 136-137, 139) interprets Bastian (4, p. 296) as indicating six kings preceding Ahoeitu, but if my interpretation of the Tongan is correct, Bastian lists but one, namely Kohai as may be seen from the following translation of the Tongan story referred to by Williamson.

> The first land of Tonga was Ata [island] and the first plant was a *fue* with two branches, and came down Tangaloa and tore it in two and the root of the *fue* rotted, and developed an animal, and came a plover and pecked, and arose from it a pair of men who were brothers, and a [the part] of the animal was cast off by the plover, and it became Momo, which are the three that arose from the animal, and the meaning of Momo is
>
> The crumbs [momo] of the animal
> And the first Tui Tonga was Kohai
> The man who originated from the *fue* plant.

(See also Collocott, 8, p. 237.)

The list of Tui Tonga (dynasty of Ahoeitu), given below is regarded 175
by me as correct. It is the result of the careful comparison of material from 173
six sources: (a) A list obtained from Tongavalevale and recorded by 643
Father Francis Xavier Reiter (33, vol. 5, pp. 45, 46), referred to as the 127
Catholic Mission list; (b) A manuscript written by Anthony Uhatafe of Mua, Tongatabu, a member of a family which furnished ceremonial attendants to the Tui Tonga; (c) A list published by the late King George II (35, vol. 1, No. 1, [5], p. 8); (d) A list recorded by J. E. Moulton (34)

and reproduced by Tregear (58, p. 670); (e) A list given to Shirley W. 175
Baker by King George I Tupou in 1862, and made available by Miss Beat- 643
rice Shirley Baker; (f) A partial list in the genealogical records in the 173
possession of the present ruler of Tonga, Queen Charlotte Tupou, recorded [127]
by the Tamaha Amelia in 1844.

Bastian (4, p. 296) gives a list of the Tui Tonga which ends with Telea and otherwise differs radically from all other lists. Williamson suggests that Bastian received his list from Shirley W. Baker, but the list given me by Miss Baker is quite unlike that published by Bastian. With these doubts in mind I have refrained from attempting a correlation.

LIST OF THE TUI TONGA, DYNASTY OF AHOEITU

[551]

1 Ahoeitu. About 950
2 Lolofakangalo
3 Fangaoneone
4 Lihau
5 Kofutu
6 Kaloa
7 Mauhau
8 Apuanea
9 Afulunga
10 Momo
11 Tuitatui. About 1200.
12 Talatama
13 Tui Tonga Nui Tamatou
14 Talaihaapepe
15 Talakaifaiki. About 1250.
16 Talafapite
17 Tui Tonga Maakatoe
18 Tui Tonga Puipui
19 Havea I
20 Tatafueikimeimua
21 Lomiaetupua
22 Havea II
23 Takalaua. About 1450.
24 Kauulufonua I. About 1470.
25 Vakafuhu
26 Puipuifatu
27 Kauulufonua II
28 Tapuosi
29 Uluakimata I (Telea)
30 Fatafehi
31 Kauulufonua III. King in 1643.
32 Uluakimata II
33 Tui Pulotu I
34 Fakanaanaa
35 Tui Pulotu II
36 Pau. King in 1770. Died about 1784.
37 Maulupekotofa. Died in 1806.
38 Fuanunuiava. Died in 1810.
39 Laufilitonga. Died in 1865.

From Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga, to Laufilitonga, the thirty-ninth Tui Tonga, was 35 generations. The succession from father to son seems to have been unbroken except at three points. Talatama, the twelfth Tui Tonga, seems to have had no son and was consequently succeeded by his brother Talaihaapepe, although only after the interposition of the dummy called Tui Tonga Nui Tamatou. Thus Tui Tonga 13 and 14 are to be reckoned as belonging to the same generation as Tui Tonga 12. Tui Tonga 26 and Tui Tonga 27 are both sons of Tui Tonga 24, possibly 25 is also. Pau, Tui Tonga 36, was succeeded by his brother Maulupekotofa probably during the minority of his son Fuanunuiava.

I have accepted the evidence of the Tamaha's genealogical records and 175
listed the thirty-first king as Kauulufonua III, instead of Tapuosi II as given 643
in the Catholic Mission and the Uhatafe lists. Tapuosi II probably was not 173
the Tui Tonga but the Fijian Tui Lakepa, who married the Female Tui 127

Tonga Sinaitakala I, the eldest sister of Fatafehi, the thirtieth king. Aside 175
from this the accepted list coincides with the Catholic Mission list. The 643
Uhatafe list differs from all of the others in placing Maulupekotofa, the 173
thirty-seventh king, in advance of Pau, the thirty-sixth king who ruled at 127
the time of Cook's visits. Maulupekotofa and Fuanunuiava are doubtless the two Tui Tonga mentioned by Mariner, Maulupekotofa dying in 1806 just before Mariner's arrival, Fuanunuiava in 1810. Mariner estimated Fuanunuiava as about forty years of age.

The George II list is identical with the Catholic Mission list, except that it unites Fatafehi (number 30) with Tapuosi II of the Catholic Mission and Uhatafe lists, thus reducing the total number of kings to 38. In the Moulton list kings 17, 18, 19 of the accepted list are united as number 17 and kings 20, 21, 22 are united as number 18. The Baker list supports the Moulton list. Uhatafe and George II lists support the Catholic Mission list, which I have followed in accepting 39 as the number of kings, instead of 34 and 32, as given by Moulton and Baker. The Tamaha list is accepted for the succession of the last 11 Tui Tonga. Partial lists in the possession of the Tui Haa Teiho, of the widow of the chief Tafolo, and of Tupoumalohi strengthen the argument for the accepted list. A list published by Collocott (13, p. 166) follows the succession as given by George II.

As to the length of the period covered by the dynasty of Ahoeitu, I con- 175
cur in general with Collocott (13, pp. 167-169). It seems likely that Ahoeitu, 173
the legendary founder of the dynasty, began reigning about 950 A. D. 643
Tuitatui, the eleventh Tui Tonga and reputed builder of the great trilithon at Tongatabu, probably reigned about 1200. Samoan references to Talakaifaiki, the fifteenth Tui Tonga, seem to place his reign about 1250. Takalaua, the twenty-third Tui Tonga, probably held sway about 1450. Thomson (54, p. 306) gives 1535 as the probable date for Takalaua, but he makes Kauulufonua I the fourth Tui Tonga instead of the seventh before the king (probably Kauulufonua III) who ruled in Tasman's time. Therefore, I regard Collocott's date of 1470 for Kauulufonua I nearer the truth than Thomson's figure of 1535.

Tasman, who visited Tongatabu in 1643, mentions an elderly chief, but that he was the Tui Tonga and not the Tui Haa Takalaua or Tui Kanokupolu is not certain. The Tui Tonga at the time of Tasman's visit was probably Kauulufonua III and not Fatafehi as Collocott suggests (13, p. 168), for according to tradition at the time of Cook's visit to Tonga, Pau, the thirty-sixth Tui Tonga, was the fifth ruler after the king who reigned at the time of Tasman's visit. Pau was adjudged by Cook in 1777 to be about forty years of age. The three remaining kings, Maulupekotofa, Fuanunuiava, and Laufilitonga, were all known to Europeans; especially Laufilitonga, who died in 1865.

brought uncooked and is provided by the bride's people; the *vai*, also brought uncooked; 585
and the *umu manava*, which is cooked. 565

The second day of the marriage is the day of purification. The woman is bathed [264]
with candlenut as detergent and afterwards presides at her kava ring. Then her bundles [783]
of mats and native cloth are brought and disposed of as she desires. Then these games [524]
and dances are held: (1) *tafoe*, a game; (2) *lanumanga*, a game; (3) *meetuupaki*, a
dance. The third and last day of the rejoicings comprised: (1) *lave*, reciting and singing [535]
of poetry; (2) dances: *laufola*, *meetuupaki*, and other dances; (3) and various [538]
games. [533]

DEATH

Burial seems to have been the only method of disposing of the dead in 764
Tonga. It seems possible that some embalmment was practiced in which
interment of the corpse was deferred several years. Collocott has sent me a [127]
note gleaned from the journal of an early Methodist missionary, now in the
keeping of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, which refers to the period from
1831 to 1837 and speaks of "a party celebrating *putu* (funeral) for a child
who died seven years ago, but whose corpse was not interred until last week,
which was the third and final mourning."

The body of a chief is anointed with scented oil, laid out in state, and [622]
fanned with a long-handled fly switch (*fue*) of coconut fiber. It was possibly
in connection with embalming that the undertaker (*haatufunga*) removed the
brains and apparently the intestines of the chiefly dead. Apparently, however,
embalming was very rare in Tonga. The accounts of the burial of
great personages such as the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Tonga given by
Wilson (65) and Mariner (40) give no hint of embalming or preservation
over long periods.

The undertakers of Tonga are of the matapule class and are appointed 767
like other matapule, great chiefs having as attendants during life the men 565
who will perform the funerary functions for them at death. The chief [622]
undertaker of modern Tonga is Lauaki, one of the two great matapule of
the Tui Kanokupolu. The Lauaki who functioned at the funeral of King
George II in 1918 was still living in 1921. He is chief of the Haa Tufunga [613]
or "Lineage of Undertakers." The first Lauaki (Maliepo) is reputed to
have been the paternal half brother of the first Tui Tonga, Ahoeitu, and to
have descended from the sky with him. Apparently the funeral duties of [644]
Lauaki are a development following his transfer from the Tui Tonga's court
to the courts of the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu. Lauaki seems
to have had no mortuary duties for the Tui Tonga, for whom this service
was rendered by the Tui Folaha.

Funeral matters were regarded as of great importance. In the court of [764]
the Tui Tonga a considerable number of matapule of the Falefa (p. 66) [644]
had special funerary duties to perform upon the death of the Tui Tonga.

house of their god. Thereafter they were buried. Mariner's description (40) 727
indicates that enemy dead were presented as offerings to the gods.

The slaughter of male prisoners, even of those wounded, seems to have been frequent and Mariner gives instances. Near Pea, Tongatabu, is a tract, Fakaveleatenge, named in commemoration of a killing which took place at the order of the war leader Takai. Some of Takai's men had been foraging and decoyed a body of the enemy into a fight, perhaps an ambush. Some of the enemy wounded were brought to a house on the tract mentioned and there slain.

The following quotations from Wilson (66, p. xlvii) refer to the state 411
of the country when Tasman and Cook visited it.

> No weapons were seen by Tasman at Tongataboo; which circumstance, as well as [609]
> their unsuspicious conduct toward strangers so formidably equipped, indicates that they
> had been accustomed to a state of general peace and security. No quarrel occurred [177]
> during this interview; and the Dutch, after having obtained abundance of provisions, but very little water, proceeded to the adjacent islands to the northward.

In Cook's time "weapons of a very formidable nature were then found among them, although they usually went unarmed. Their spears were barbed in a very dangerous manner and their clubs very curiously carved."

In Mariner's time warfare had become general and weapons were much
in evidence. In addition to clubs and spears, bows and arrows were then [177]
used, which seem likely to be an adaptation from Fiji, rather than a fundamental Polynesian weapon the use of which survived only in Tonga.

A short text about the two great matapule, Maliepo (Lauaki) and Molofaha (Motuapuaka) refers to weapons as follows:

> And if the land is dark (at war), then Maliepo and Molofaha will speak to the regiments in case they come along with their burdens, the spear with stingray barb (*taofai*), the headed spear (*taotala*), the owl-headed club (*ualulu*), the eight-faced club or eight-barbed spear (*likuvalu*), the paddle-shaped club (*moungaloulou*), the club (*tui tapavalu*), and the toothed club (*uifoosi*).

Holes (*luoto*) with pointed stakes at the bottom were dug in trails along 725
which it was thought enemies might approach.

WAR STORIES

The following campaign stories obtained from the lips of modern in- 669
formants and from manuscripts are arranged so far as possible in chrono- [124]
logic order. The fighting in the period between the assassination of the [127]
Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho in 1799 and the appointment of his son Tupou- [128]
toa in 1812 is not included because already covered by other writers. The [173]
following accounts deal chiefly with the campaigns of Tupoutoa and his son Taufaahau, who was appointed Tui Kanokupolu in 1845, and later became King George I.

Whether the indexes of group interrelations are based upon the percentage 551
of shared names or upon the percentage of all names, certain significant 571
breaks in the series of figures appear. Vavau is more closely tied 642
to distant Tongatabu than to neighboring Haapai, which permits only of 184
the interpretation that Vavau's intercourse has been greater with distant Tongatabu than with nearby Haapai. This is borne out by the absolute figures as well as by the percentages. Thus, the names exclusively shared by Tongatabu and Vavau are 98, by Haapai and Vavau but 51. The names exclusively shared by the three groups are 134. As suggested (25, p. 22), the explanation probably lies in the political supremacy of Tongatabu, from which the emissaries of the Tui Tonga were continually going forth to the other groups to collect tribute and to carry out many other missions. Both Niuafoou and Niuatoputapu seem more closely connected with Tongatabu, Haapai, and Vavau, than with each other; the figures for personal names correspond in this regard with those for place names.

These tabulations for personal names manifest the same interrelations as having subsisted between different parts of the kingdom as do the tabulations for place names given in "Tongan place names". The general conclusions reached (25, pp. 22, 23) are strengthened by the findings in regard to personal names, and a diagram showing influence radiating directly from Tongatabu to the other four groups would likewise be justified.

LIST OF NAMES 551

The list of Tongan personal names here presented has been largely derived [127]
from the list of tenants in the Tongan land office and most of them are names of adult males. The distribution in the five parts of the kingdom is indicated by T for Tongatabu group, H for Haapai, V for Vavau group,
NT for Niuatoputapu group, and NF for Niuafoou. Many native tree [824]
names, such as *fa* (hala, *Pandanus*), toa (*Casuarina*), and *fau* (hau, *Hibiscus*), are used alone and in combination as personal names. Tonganized English and Biblical names are included in the list. Translations are by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker.

Afa, a hurricane; a wonder maker. T, NT
Afaki, to have ready by the time of waking.
Afakitau, sleep so as to be ready to fight. V
Afe, a thousand; to turn aside. NT
Afeafe, turn about often. H, NF
Afeaki, keep turning aside. T, H
Afei, to wrap round the body. V
Afeitaulalo, for a chief to go and visit a commoner. T, H
Afemui, to turn last, to turn aside last. T, H, V
Afi, fire. H, V, NF
Afitu, to scatter fire. H
Afoa, a small rope or string for tying the fence. T
Afu, red hot; oven cooked. T, H, V
Afuhaamango, dry without moisture. V
Afuhaapai, Afu from Haapai.
Afuhaalaufuli, Afu from Haalaufuli.
Afukaipouli, Afu do not eat until night.
Afusipa, to sleep while fishing; to only wake to pull up the hook. V
Afuvale, paper mulberry tree with too many shoots.
Ahau, the inclosure of the ruling chief; name of a place at Tongatabu. T
Ahauano, many people. H

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Tongan Place Names

By Edward Winslow Gifford

INTRODUCTION

One avenue of approach to the problem of the origin and migrations 121
of the Polynesians lies in a careful study and comparison of place names
from various parts of Polynesia. With large series of names from the
several groups of Polynesia it will be possible to put the comparison on a
firm statistical basis. Moreover, if it were found that Tonga had eighty
per cent of her place names in common with Samoa and forty per cent in
common with New Zealand, the closer connection with Samoa would be
self evident. With large series of place names in hand it will become
possible therefore to work out the ethnogeographic interrelations of each
Polynesian group with all other Polynesian groups. It is hardly necessary
to point out the value of these data in defining the movements of the
Polynesian peoples. Until the expeditions of the Bishop Museum in the
Pacific have been completed it is premature to attempt a comparison on a
statistical basis as suggested above. Consequently, the present paper pre- 128
sents the Tongan data without attempting a detailed comparison with
other groups of Polynesia. Tongan intrarelations alone are studied. Four
thousand seven hundred and seventy-six place names, utilized for more
than eight thousand two hundred locations, are presented. These have
been studied as to geographic distribution and frequency of occurrence in
different parts of the Tongon archipelago. One aim of this study is to 121
determine if possible the direction of movement within the archipelago—
that it, whether from north to south or from south to north.

Several thousand place names were obtained from the records in the 127
Tongan Lands Office, which were courteously put at my disposal by the
Honorable William Tungi, Minister for Lands. Mr. A. B. Wallace,
Minister for Works, gave me access to the maps showing the location of
hereditary lands in the Kingdom. The Reverend E. E. V. Collocott sent
me in 1922 a list of names from the island of Niuafoou, which corroborated
the Niuafoou list I made in Nukualofa (the capital of Tonga) and fur-
nished forty new names.

For the translation of place names I am indebted to several residents 114
of Tonga; namely, Mrs. May Laurence, Mr. Solomon Ata, Mr. August
Hettig, Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker, Mr. Alphonse J. Gaffney, and Mr.
William Tungi. The translations have been studied by the author with 127
the aid of two excellent dictionaries of the Tongan language, one compiled

127 by the Catholic Missionaries of the Marist Brotherhood[1] and the other by the Rev. Shirley W. Baker.[2]

104 With one exception the Tongan orthography followed in this paper is that set forth on pages 1 and 2 of the Dictionnaire Toga-Francais. Sixteen symbols in all are used, of which five represent vowels and eleven consonants. The vowels are *a, e, i, o,* and *u* and the consonants are *f, h, k, l, m, n, ng, p, s, t,* and *v*. *Ng*[2a] is used in this paper in place of the *g* employed in both the Dictionnaire Toga-Francais and in Baker's Dictionary.

114 Baker's Dictionary differs from the Dictionnaire Toga-Francais in using both *b* and *p* instead of *p* alone; and *s* and *j* instead of *s* alone.

127 128 Owing to the fact that practically all of the place names presented in this paper are drawn from government records, charts, and various Tongan manuscripts and are recorded in varying orthographies and largely without diacritical marks, it is impossible to consistently indicate by diacritical marks the exact pronunciation of each word. For particulars concerning Tongan phonetics the reader should consult the dictionaries.

THE TONGA OR FRIENDLY ISLANDS

131 The group named the Friendly Islands by the famous navigator Cook lies between the parallels of 15° and 23° south latitude and between the 173rd and 176th meridians west of Greenwich.

103 The name Tonga as applied to the whole group is derived from the name of the largest island of the group, generally known as Tongatabu.[3]

133 [131] With the exception of the outlying volcanic island of Niuafoou approximately in latitude 16° S and longitude 176° W, the islands of the Tongan archipelago lie in two parallel chains stretching from north to south. The eastern chain is of coral formation. The western chain is volcanic.

The eastern chain includes more than one hundred islands, most of them low-lying—in fact, little more than uplifted coral reefs. They are exceedingly fertile and bear the great bulk of the Tongan population.

The western volcanic islands are not numerous. They are from south to north: Ata (1165 feet elevation), the twin islands of Hunga Tonga and Hunga Haapai (respectively 490 and 400 feet elevation), Tofua (1670

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[113] [1] Missionnaires Maristes, Dictionnaire Toga-Francais et Francais-Toga-Anglais. Precedé d'une Grammaire et de Quelques Notes sur L'Archipel par les Missionnaires Maristes, revu et mis en ordre par le P. A. C. s.m. Publication de l'oeuvre de Saint-Jerome, Librairie-Editeur, Paris. Chadenat, 1890.

[113] [2] An English and Tongan Vocabulary, also a Tongan and English Vocabulary, with a list of Idiomatic Phrases; and Tongan Grammar, Auckland, N. Z., 1897.

[3] The spelling Tongatabu has been unfortunately adopted by official geographic boards and gazetteers. The correct orthography is Tongatapu.

[2a] In the arrangement of the gazetteer, *ng* follows *n*.

REMARKS ON THE GAZETTEER

In compiling the list of Tongan place names, the following information, 128 when available, is recorded: (1) the feature to which the name is applied; (2) the group of islands in which the feature occurs; (3) the island on which the place is located; (4) the village near which it is located; (5) the name of the landlord; (6) the meaning of the name; and (7) miscellaneous data.

102
361

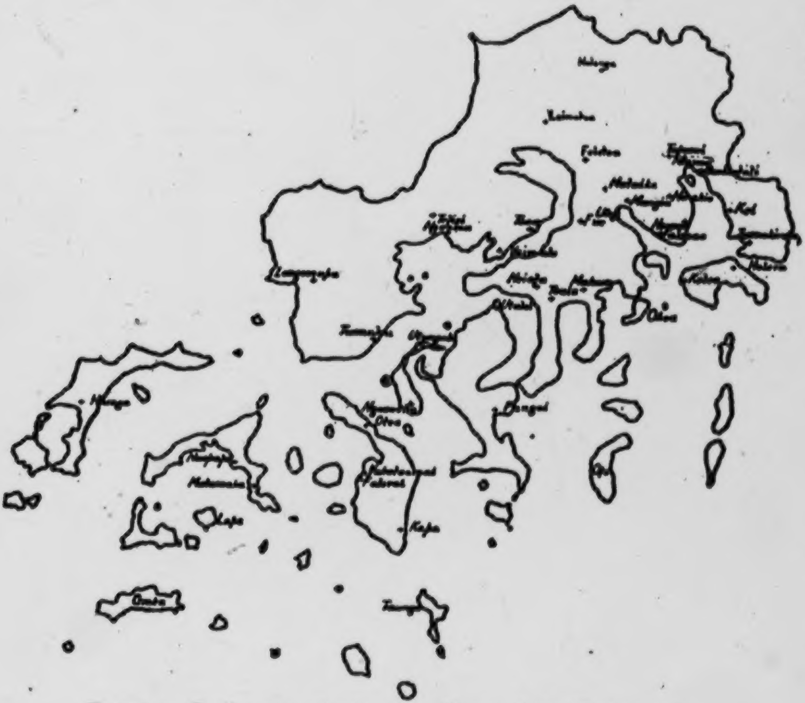

FIGURE 1.—Outline map showing the villages of the Vavau group.

In the Gazetteer the largest number of names are of tracts (*api*) and 103 village tracts (*apikolo*) and were obtained from the Tongan land office [127] records. The tracts are the farm lands of the population, and each tract [423] listed is today held by a Tongan tenant. Most of the tract names seem to be ancient. Not so the village tract names, many of which are of foreign countries; 361 for village life in Tonga is only a century and a quarter old, the population formerly dwelling scattered over the land. Civil war, 178 [103] [241]

convenience in attending frequent church services, and the copra trade are 361
probably the chief factors responsible for the growth of the villages and 178
for the degeneration of agriculture. Today the Tongan resides in a village 241
from which he makes the necessary excursions to his farm. Anciently he resided
on the farm (*api*) and there were no villages. Needless to say, the
extent of cultivated land is much diminished.

Too much faith should not be placed in the meanings of place names 103
listed. The average Tongan appears to give no more thought to the meaning
of his place names than we do. If asked what a name means, it is 128
an even chance he will not know. The meanings of almost all place names [127]
in this paper were worked out by Tongan scholars, European and native.
These meanings have all been studied by the author and modified where
it seemed necessary. Nevertheless, some meanings are undoubtedly forced,
and, what is more, it sometimes happens that a name is open to more than
one interpretation.

Even with these short-comings in mind it is apparent that the meanings 103
of names fall roughly into two great classes, descriptive and commemorative.
The former refer to some feature of the locality, the latter to some
event, usually trivial enough. There are also names of foreign places.
Undoubtedly when comparison with other regions is made these will
increase many fold. Apparently some names express in sarcasm or 423
irony the injured feelings of the tenant of the tract, for it must be remembered [103]
that land is not owned by the rank and file of the population.
It is leased from the government and from the nobility, there being in all
some thirty such landlords. The rentals paid today in coin replace the
ancient tribute of produce paid to the lords of the land.

The name of the landlord has been recorded for every tract; the [128]
absence of a personal name signifies that the government is the landlord.

So far as Tonga alone is concerned, the names of the landlords appear 174
of slight significance in solving the problem of Tongan origins. Here and 103
there a place name appears definitely associated with a landlord, as the
place name Haatalafale with the landlord Tui Pelehake. I believe, however, 121
that the recording of the landlord names will prove exceedingly
valuable when comparisons are made with other parts of Oceania.

In the gazetteer the several occurrences of a single name are listed 128
from the Tongatabu group in the south to Niuafoou in the north. Roughly
the order of listing the occurrences on several islands in a group, or near
several villages on an island, is from south to north and from west to east.
The reason for selecting the southern or Tongatabu group as the starting
point is the fact that it seems always to have been the political and
cultural center of the Tongan kingdom. The names of the five groups of 104

104 the Tongan archipelago are represented throughout the gazetteer by the following abbreviations in parentheses: (T) Tongatabu; (H) Haapai; (V) Vavau; (NT) Niuatoputapu; (NF) Niuafoou.

127 The Tongan and scientific names of Tongan birds have been derived
from two papers, one by Finsch and Hartlaub,[20] the other by Gräffe.[21]
I. H. Burkill's Flora of Vavau[22] gives the Tongan as well as the scientific
128 names of a dozen Vavau plants. To a slight degree the scientific names
of Samoan plants and animals were utilized for their apparent Tongan
equivalents where the native names in the two archipelagoes were similar.
Such a proceeding, however, is unsound and has not been carried far by
[127] the author. The few names utilized were derived from Pratt[23] and from
Krämer.[24] The location of villages on the island of Tongatabu and on
the islands of the Vavau group is shown on the maps (fig. 1 and fig. 2).

127 No charts were available for showing the position of the villages on the island of Niuafoou, namely: Mua, Tongamamao, Sapaata, Mataaho, Fataulua, Angaha, Ahau, and Petani; nor for those on the island of Niuatoputapu, namely: Vaipoa, Hihifo, Matavai, and Falehau.

113 For the location of islands, reefs, channels, hills, and other geographic features within the Tongan Archipelago, standard atlases, British Admiralty charts, and the following charts issued by the Hydrographic Office of the United States Navy may be consulted:

No. 1500, Pacific Ocean, scale 3/16 in.=1° of longitude. Shows the entire kingdom of Tonga, from Ata (Pylstaart) island in the south to Niuafoou in the north.

No. 2021, Fiji Islands to Samoa Islands, scale 2 9/16 in.=1° of longitude. Shows the entire kingdom of Tonga except the southernmost island, Ata (Pylstaart).

No. 2016, Tonga, or Friendly Islands, scale 1/8 in.=1 nautical mile. Shows the entire kingdom of Tonga, except the northern islands: Niuafoou, Niuatoputapu, and Tafahi.

No. 2013. Tongatabu, scale 2 in.=1 nautical mile. Shows the northern half of Tongatabu and the northern islands of the Tongatabu group including Eueiki. Eua and Kalau islands are not shown.

No. 2010, Nukualofa Anchorage and Nomuka Harbor, scale 4 in.=1 nautical mile; Eua Island, 1 in.=1 nautical mile; Falcon Island, 1 14/16 in.=1 nautical mile. Details of Tongatabu harbor and of Nomuka (in Haapai) and neighboring islands are also shown. The village of Kolomaile on Eua island is designated as Haatua.

No. 2006. Namuka group, scaue 1 in.=1 nautical mile. Shows the southernmost portion of the modern province of Haapai; namely, Nomuka and adjacent islands.

No. 2008, Haapai group, southern portion, scale 1 in.=1 nautical mile. Shows the

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[113] [20] Finsch, O. and Hartlaub, G.: Zur Ornithologie der Tonga-Inseln, Journ. für Ornith., pp. 119-140, 1870.

[113] [21] Gräffe, Edward. Ornithologische Mittheilungen aus Central Polynesien, I. Die Vogelwelt der Tonga-Inseln, Journ. für Ornith., pp. 401-420, 1870.

[113] [22] Journ. Linn. Soc. London, vol. 35, pp. 20-65, 1901.

[113] [23] Pratt's Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language, 4th ed., London Missionary Society, Malua, Samoa, 1911.

[24] Krämer, Augustin, Die Samoa Inseln, Stuttgart, 1902, 1903.

5: Gifford OU9 Tonga OU9

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[For scattered references to informants' names, documentary sources, and translators, see Category 116.]

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongan Myths and Tales

COMPILED BY EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

INTRODUCTION

The printing press has undoubtedly done more to preserve the extant 114
Tongan myths and legends than has oral transmission. Fortunately both
the Wesleyan Methodist and the Roman Catholic churches in Tonga adopted
the broad policy of publishing in their Tongan language magazines many
stories from raconteurs now long dead. A number of tales presented in 127
the following pages are drawn from these sources.

A series of stories was recorded at first hand from Tongan narrators 124
during my nine months sojourn in Tonga in 1920-1921. For many of them
the published versions, rather than the tales of some elder relative, were
the relater's source of information. For such tales I have discarded the 128
oral account and have presented only a translation of the printed version. 127

European folk tales have also been published in Tongan for the delectation 177
of the Tongan public. As a result I not infrequently found myself
recording some well known story, such as Cinderella or Dick Whittington's 538
Cat, under a thin disguise of Polynesian names. There were also [124]
hybrid tales in which the leading roles were played by princes, princesses,
and premiers, or again by cats and ferocious mammals.

Through the diligent efforts of the late Reverend Father Francis Xavier 113
Reiter of the Catholic Church and of the Reverend E. E. V. Collocott of the 114
Methodist Church, a number of Tongan myths have been presented in the
anthropological periodicals Anthropos and Folk-Lore. Myths thus recorded 128
are not reproduced in this paper, except insofar as I secured variants or the
original Tongan text.

Modern Tongans have a distinct national pride and feel that they constitute 186
a nation superior to their neighbors. I am inclined to believe that
this national spirit is a survival from ancient times, which has been fanned
into fresh vigor under the astute guidance of that remarkable ruler, King
George I. Tupou. An undoubted manifestation of this patriotic feeling is [814]
the interest taken by many Tongans in the past of their nation. As a result 123
of this widespread interest the expedition met with hearty coöperation from
Tongans as well as from Europeans.

The interest of the educated Tongan in the past of his country is well 539
illustrated by the following Tongan verse written by the late chief Tafolo, 814
a scion of the Tui Tonga's house.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 Fakamolemole a houeiki mo ngaohi haa,	Pardon me, noble chiefs and lineages,
He oku mamao mo faingataa ae faanga;	For the searching place is now far and difficult;
814 Koe tolutalu nae tuu holo he ngahi halanga	The old plantations once scattered on the roads
Kuo fuu puli pea alu mo hono toutangata.	Have now quite disappeared and gone with them their generation,
Ka ne ongo ene vao fihi mo tevavaa,	But although they now lie in very thick bush,
Kae fai pe ha vavaku mo sia faala	Search will be made at any rate
Kia Touiafutuna, koe uluaki maka	For Touiafutuna, the first rock
Nae fai mei ai hotau kamataanga.	Where our origin began.
Kehe koe talatupua ia mo fananga,	Though these are only traditions and fables,
Oku utuutu mei ai sii kau faa.	'Tis here the inquirers get their facts.

● 127 My thanks are due to Her Majesty the Queen of Tonga, to the Prince Consort William Tungi, to Messrs. W. H. Murley, J. P. Maatu, E. E. V. Collocott, and to Mrs. Rachel Tonga for generously allowing me to use unpublished tales which they had recorded. The Methodist and Catholic churches, through their representatives, the Rev. R. C. G. Page, Rev. E. E. V. Collocott, and His Lordship Bishop Joseph Felix Blanc, courteously placed the old manuscripts in their archives at my dis-
128 posal. For the patient and painstaking work of Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker in translating hundreds of pages of Tongan text I am especially grateful. To others I am indebted for similar work, to wit: Mr. Alphonse J. Gaffney, Mr. Solomon Ata, Mrs. May Laurence, Mr. E. E. V. Collocott, Mr. W. H. Murley, Mr. William Finau, Miss Georgina Sutherland
124 and Miss Lena Hettig. Acknowledgment of the help of various Tongans who related stories is made in connection with their contributions.

104 Two excellent dictionaries of the Tongan language offer a choice in orthography. One is the compilation of the Catholic Missionaries of the
[114] Marist Brotherhood,[1] and the other is the compilation of the Reverend Shirley W. Baker.[2] I have, with one exception, elected to follow the orthography set forth on pages 1 and 2 of the Dictionnaire Toga-Francais because it conforms more closely to the orthography of other Polynesian dialects. In the present paper sixteen symbols in all are used, of which five represent vowels and eleven consonants. The vowels are *a, e, i, o,* and *u* and the consonants are *f, h, k, l, m, n, ng, p, s, t,* and *v*. *Ng* is used in this paper in place of the *g* employed in both the Catholic dictionary and Baker's dictionary.

Baker's dictionary differs from the Catholic dictionary in using both *b* and *p* instead of *p* alone; and *s* and *j* instead of *s* alone. Consequently, in

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[113] [1] Missionnaires Maristes, Dictionnaire Toga-Francais et Francais-Toga-Anglais. Paris, Ch, Chadenat, 1890.

[113] [2] Baker, Shirley W., An English and Tongan Vocabulary, also a Tongan and English Vocabulary, with a list of idiomatic phrases; and Tongan Grammar, Auckland, N. Z., 1897.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

TONGAN MYTHOLOGY AND THE ORIGIN OF THE TONGANS

127 Though it is premature for a detailed comparison of Tongan mythology
171 with other Polynesian mythologies, the writer has attempted a rough ap-
121 proximation of the affinities of Tongan mythology to the mythologies of
the great areas of the Pacific as presented in Roland B. Dixon's "Oceanic
Mythology."[a]

127 Having Tongan mythology quite thoroughly in mind, Dixon's book on
128 Oceanic mythology was read and a check mark entered in the margin wherever an episode appeared to have a Tongan parallel. If error was made
it was on the side of entering too many check marks, for undoubtedly some
of the episodes checked as having Tongan parallels, in truth have not, as
171 the resemblance in certain instances was rather remote. Upon completing
the book it was found that there were sixty-seven check marks in the Polynesian part, forty-eight in the Indonesian, twenty-seven in the Micronesian, ten in the Melanesian, and six in the Australian. These figures undoubtedly represent in a rough fashion the affinities of Tongan mythology. It was to be expected that resemblances to Polynesia would be numerous, and undoubtedly when the other members of the Bayard Dominick Expedition have published their reports the number of resemblances will be materially increased.

The number of parallels between Indonesia and Tonga are astonishingly large, being more than four times the number that are found between Tonga and Melanesia. Many of the resemblances between Tonga and Indonesia are so specific that it is hard to believe they are merely accidental. In fact, the high number of resemblances, forty-eight, would preclude accident as the sole factor, especially when contrasted with only ten resemblances between Tonga and adjacent Melanesia.

171 The paucity of the Micronesian material undoubtedly accounts for the
128 fact that only twenty-seven resemblances were found between it and
Tongan material. On the other hand, allowing for the scarcity of Micronesian material, this is a fairly high figure and would seem to indicate that the connection between Tonga and Indonesia is by way of Micronesia rather than Melanesia.

174 The Tongan myths and tales in themselves throw a little light on the
773 geographic aspect of Tongan origins.

538 In looking over the field of Tongan mythology, one is struck by the
frequency of derivation of plants and fishes from Samoa, from the sky, and from Pulotu (the land of the gods), and by the absence of allusions to Fiji as a place from which useful plants and animals have been derived.

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[a] Dixon, Roland B., The mythology of all races: Oceanic, vol. 9, Boston, 1916.

[113]

there. But not yet did those two know each other. They were still innocent and went about naked, for they were not ashamed. So it was until one day when they went to bathe in the sea and were lying face downwards with their feet in the water. The tide was flooding and began to break upon their feet. On and on it came, until it covered their bodies. *Subito piscis qui oo appellabatur, unda adlapsus cunnum puellae exhauriebat.* She was in pain and cried and kicked her feet about in the sand, because of the suffering caused by the oo's sucking. Neither she nor her brother knew what to do to relieve her agony. *Molliter cunnum manu mulcebat; reque tamen ex eo puella quam minimum solatium cepit. Denique penem inseruit et ex eo magnum solatium cepit.* That was the beginning of their knowledge and they cohabited regularly thereafter." 539

Garbled verbal accounts of the cosmogony were obtained from various informants. In one of these, the three human beings created from the maggot or worm are designated as a man, a woman, and a third person. The woman is called Kohai, the man Momo, and the name of the third was forgotten. The three names, however, are assigned a mystic significance, Kohai standing for the future, Momo for the present, and the third name for the past. This is probably a connotation introduced solely by the raconteur, James Lilo, of Lotofoa, Foa island, Haapai. 773 539 [124]

In certain of the accounts a clear distinction is made between the islands fished up by the Maui (Tongatabu, Haapai, Vavau, Niua, and Samoa) and those which they did not fish up.

> "They did not fish up Kao, Tofua, Hunga Haapai, Hunga Tonga, Late, or Fonualei [all volcanic islands]. Nor was all of Fiji fished up. The countries that were not fished up were thrown down from heaven. Therefore they are called the land-stones (*makafonua*) of Hikuleo, the maker of all the countries that are full of unevenness, that jump backward and forward [i.e., are subject to earthquakes] and that are full of holes and pits, for they are the countries which were not fished up by the Maui."

A brief version of the Maui land-fishing story told by Lie, a man of Koulo, Lifuka island, Haapai, makes Eua the starting point of the expedition, makes the woman, who becomes enamoured of one of the Maui, the daughter of the hook owner instead of his wife, and makes the first land hauled up Rarotonga instead of Tokelau.

An important text dealing with the origin of the wind and of various food plants forms a sequel to the tale about the creation of man on Ata. This text, which might appropriately have formed part of the series published by Father Reiter in Anthropos, was courteously placed at my disposal by the Right Reverend Bishop Joseph Felix Blanc of Tonga. Because of the importance of the tale I present the original Tongan text as 539 [127] [128]

EXPLOITS OF THE MAUI

The full Tongan cycle of the exploits of the Maui (exclusive of the land-fishing expedition which is incorporated with the Tongan cosmogony) has recently been published in Tongan with an accompanying French translation.[21] The Reverend E. E. V. Collocott subsequently published a free English translation of the same Tongan account.[22] Tongan accounts have also appeared in two Tongan publications.[23] 113

Since the subject has been so fully covered there is but little left for me to present. However, there is a brief Tongan poem about Maui, accompanied by a prose account of him. These were obtained by the Reverend J. E. Moulton and made available to me by Messrs. R. C. G. Page and E. E. V. Collocott. The poem and prose account, with Miss Baker's translation, follow: 128 [127]

Lau koe ngataanga e langi e teve,	It is said that the boundary of the sky was a *teve* plant, 539
Pea tuu a Maui o teketeke	That Maui stood and pushed up the sky
Aki e u kae alu e fefine faele	With a stick for a confined woman
Ae langi na ka tau haele.	So that we might under the sky walk upright.
'Tupaheo!	Tupaheo!
Kulo moe hafu hau ta tukua	Pot and drift come and let us leave
Matatolu siene tafe mo puna.	The spring Matatolu which runs and flows.
Umu si a Maui i Eua	Maui at Eua cooked *si* root
Tao aipe ke moho huhua.	Until it was juicy.
Tupa!	Clap!
Koefe a Maui nae vave?	Where is Maui who was quick?
Naa ne lava ki hake e toke	He was able to lift the eel
He luo he ana i Kulukave.	From the hole of the cave in Kulukave.
Tupa!	Clap!
Ko Utukakai mo Talaamohi,	[The places] Utukakai and Talaamohi,
Ko Namalata kuo toka kovi,	[The place] Namalata was very rough
Koefe a Maui ne tafoki	Where is Maui who when he turned
Ke mavava kae fakafai foki?	Shook the earth and did it again?
Tupa!	Clap!
Ko Kohi hono tuuanga u.	[The place] Kohi where he thrust in his stick.
Koefe a Maui nae lau,	Where is Maui they talk about,
Naa ne lavai e vanahuhu,	Who overcame the stinging sea-urchin,
Pea moe koka nae feuu?	And the *koka* tree that bites?
Tupa!	Clap!
Koefe a Maui nea toa,	Where is Maui who was brave,
Naa ne tolototolongi e moa	Who threw stones at the fowl

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[21] Anthropos, vol. XII-XIII, 1026-1046, 1917-1918; XIV-XV, 125-142, 1919-1920.

[22] Folk-Lore, vol. XXXII, 45-58, 1921.

[23] (1) Koe talanoa ki he kau Maui, Koe Makasini a Kolisi, vol. 4, pp. 111-114, 133-136, 153-155, 1881-1883; vol. 5, pp. 14-17, 1883-1885; (2) Koe talanoa kihe kau Maui, Koe Fafagu, vol. 5, pp. 104-108, 125-130, 146-150, 167-172, 184-188, 197-202, 211-216, 1907. The author is Taufapulotu.

that they moved from Heketa to Fangalongonoa and lived there. They 539
named the new place of residence Mua and they took their boats there. 173
The name of one boat was "Akiheuho" and the name of the other was 643
"Tongafuesia." Thus the living of the Tui Tonga at Mua began with the [644]
time of Talaatama and Talaihaapepe, the sons of Tuitatui. [361]

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME TUITATUI[39]

There was a Tui Tonga named Tuitatui, who was so named because the kava maker of early days did not sit in the same fashion as nowadays, but sat in the center of the ring of chiefs. The chiefs were encircled by the people, which made the assassination of the Tui Tonga quite easy. But this Tui Tonga, when at a kava party and surrounded by the people, had a very long stick with which he used to beat the knees of anyone who came
too close to him. This made them move away and keep at a distance from [276]
him, and they called him Tuitatui (*tui*, king; *ta*, to strike; *tui*, the knee) [574]
and since that time the kava circle has been arranged as he made it.

TUITATUI AND THE MAIDEN[40]

Ko Tuitatui, koe Tui Tonga, nae eiki, pea ngeia, pea manavahe ai ae kakai oe otu fonua ni.

Ko Tuitatui, eni nae alu ene aalo ki Halakakala, pea akemai one iloi ae fefine oku hekeheka i he tualiku o Eueiki, kae fakataupe a hono vae ki tahi; o iloi ai e Tuitatui, moe ongo tangata. Koe iloi tokua e he tangata nae nofoa mua, pea ne pehe ange: "Ongo tamani, mo mate eku tupua." Pea na pehe mai: "Koeha?" Pea pehe e he tangata: "Ko eku tupua, koe kalia, oku langolango i he tuahilu o Haakame." Pea na matei ae tupua, pea ikai ke na ilo, pea toki tala e he tangata, one pehe: "Ko eku tupua eni; mo sio ange ae vaei fefine, koeni oku fakataupe ki taki, ka oku hekeheka, i he vaafau, kae mama ae konga tahi, nae feounga moia." Pea nau sio kotoa ki ai, ka nae alo mui a Tuitatui, pea lea mai: "Ongo tama, tau ange mo kimoua, ke mo aalo vave, ke tau ilo ape, koe mama, pe koe tevolo."

Tuitatui, the Tui Tonga, was chief, and terrible, and feared by all the people of the groups of islands.

Tuitatui went in a canoe to Halakakala, and approaching the shore he saw a woman sitting on the weather shore of Eueiki, and dangling her legs into the sea; and Tuitatui and his two men saw her. She was seen first, it is said, by the man that sat in front, and he said: "You two lads, guess my riddle." And they said, "What is it?" And the man answered: "My riddle is this, the double-boat is raised on the weather shore of Haakame." And they tried to guess the riddle, but failed. Then the man told them: "This is my riddle; you see there the legs of a woman, that are hanging into the sea, but she is sitting, on the branch of the fau (hibiscus) tree, while there is a light on the sea, opposite her." And they all looked. But Tuitatui was paddling in the stern, and he spoke: "You two lads, it is with you, to paddle quickly, for us to discover if it is human, or a spirit."

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[39] From the original Tongan of a manuscript in the possession of John Panuve Maatu. Translated by Alphonse J. Gaffney.

[40] From the original Tongan of a manuscript written by the late Elia Malupo, an attendant (*matapule*), made available through the courtesy of Her Majesty Charlotte Tupou the Queen of Tonga and His Highness William Tungi the Prince Consort. All of Malupo's tales were copied from an early account written by Romano Tongavalevale and corrected by the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga. Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker [127]

STORIES ABOUT MUNI

539 The tale of Munimatamahae (Muni-of-the-torn-eye) is one of the most popular of the extant Tongan tales, being widely current in Haapai, the central province of the kingdom and the scene of much of the story.

124 I heard the tale from thirteen persons. In addition the tale has been
113 published twice in verse and twice in prose in the Tongan magazines of
114 the Methodist and Catholic churches. The tale has also appeared in
Folk Lore[58], translated into English by the Reverend G. Brown, whose
version is based on the Tongan poem and explanation appearing in the
Methodist magazine.

128 I reproduce here the Catholic poem and the Methodist poem and ex-
127 planation in Tongan accompanied by a translation. In the notes which
follow I have embodied the details of the accounts from twelve living
Tongans, insofar as they differ from the account published in Folk-Lore
and those published herewith.

539 Several accounts specify that Muni's mother was sitting either on the starboard or the port side of the vessel when she was seized and killed. In some accounts it is stated that the chief of the vessel ordered that a "root" be struck off from the port (or starboard) side. The position of the vessel at the time that the woman was murdered is in some versions specified as near Luangahu island. One account states that the vessel was between Nomuka and Lekeleka islands in the southern portion of the Haapai group.

Four versions state that the chief of the vessel was the Tui Tonga himself, who was on his way to Vavau or Samoa. In one of these four he is specifically called Tuitatui, who was the eleventh traditional Tui Tonga. In another he is called the Tui Tonga from Tukutonga, a place two or three miles east of Nukualofa, Tongatabu island.

A version of the story by John Tupou, of Nukualofa, Tongatabu, gives the name of Muni's mother as Tetele.

The beach on Lofanga where Muni was cast ashore is called Pake in one version, Siumalu in another, and Muni in the Catholic prose version.

The fishing expedition on which an attempt was made to get rid of Muni by scuttling the boat on which he went to sleep is variously stated as being to Nukupule island or Niniva island, neither far distant from Lofanga. In one version only is the scuttling of the boat attributed to Muni's foster parents. In all others it is laid at the door of Muni's hostile fellow islanders.

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[58] Folk-Lore, vol. 27, pp. 426-430, 1916.

A variant of a portion of the above prose account of Kae's voyage is included in the manuscripts preserved by Dr. Moulton and is presented herewith:

Pea nau folau pe o au ki Niua, pea nau alu pe, pea kite ai a Haamoa, pea nau alu pe, pea nau folau folau pea hoko ki he tahi tea; pea nau folau ai, o toe au ki he tahi fuofuanga, pea nau toe folau ai pea hoko ki he tahi pupulu, pea nau hopo ai leva ki tahi o toho mo nau tangi. Koe pehe mai pe e Loau, "E ikai tuku etau folau, he koeha oku mou tangi ai? Ikai ko hoomou kaka aipe ke tau mole fua ai a?"

Pea nau folau, folau, pea au ki he fuu fa, koe fuu fa koe fokihangafolau; pea fihia ai honau fana, pea feohofi ai ae ongo siana he vaka ki he fuu fa o tekena ia ae vaka moe fuu fa, pea alu ai ae vaka tokua, o hu i he langi nae ava, pea ko honau mateanga ia kae moui ai ae ongo siana naa na hopo ki he fuu fa.

Pea na alea ai ke na tatali oka hua mai ae tahi pea na toki kakau ai.

Pe kakau ai a Kae o tuuta i he motu nae nofo ai ae manu koe Kanivatu. Pea tuuta atu a Kae oku tuku ai ae tofuaa e valu, pea mohe ai a Kae he vahaa tofuaa. Pea hau ai ae manu ene siutaka o tuu hono vae e taha ki he tofuaa e taha mo hono vae e taha ki he tofuaa e taha, kae mohe o foohifo ia Kae. Pea mohe pe a Kae mo katakata he ene iloi, pea teitei mafoa mai e ata pe pea fanongo hake ai a Kae kuo tutufulu ae manu pea teitei puna, pea kapakapa. Pea ohofua leva a Kae o pipiki i hono fatafata, pea koe siu pe ae manu i he loto moana, kae taupe pea Kae i hono fatafata. Pea toki sio hifo a Kae he oneone pea fakatopatu leva ki he oneone. Pea tuu hake ai ta ko Haamoa pea ko Akana koe fonua nae fakatopatu ki ai. Pea alu ai leva ene ohu kava kia Sinilau, pea takanga aki leva e Sinilau.

Pea koe ika a Haamoa nae fafanga koe longouli moe tofuaa, pea nau ave ai ki vaikele ke fakatakatataka, pea mau ai e he potu fonua e taha o tafa, pea ave hono alanga o tautau i he falefata. Pea alu tu ai ae unoho o Sinilau oku tautau ae alanga pea ohofua ai o folo

And they sailed on and reached Niua, and still they went on, and sighted Samoa, and still they went on; and they sailed on, and on till they reached the white sea; and they sailed on, and reached the floating pumice-stone sea; and still they sailed on, and reached the slimy sea; they jumped into the sea and dragged the canoe, and cried. Then Loau said: "We won't stop our voyage. Why are you crying, is it not through your treachery, that we will be lost?"

And they voyaged on and on, till they reached the enormous pandanus tree, the turning place of all voyagers; and there their mast got entangled, and two men jumped from the canoe to the big pandanus tree, and pushed the canoe from the tree, which is said to have caused the canoe to enter the hole, and that was the reason of the loss of the vessel; but the two men that jumped into the tree were saved. They agreed to wait till the tide came in, then they would swim.

And Kae swam, and reached an island; where lived a bird called Kanivatu. Kae landed and found there eight whales and Kae slept between two whales. Then came the bird in its flight, and stood one leg on one whale, and the other leg on the other whale, and slept over Kae, and Kae slept and laughed, for he felt confident. And when day was nearly breaking he heard the flutter of the bird before springing into the air and flying. Kae rushed and clung to its breast, and the bird flew to midocean, with Kae clinging to its breast, and Kae looked down, and saw some sand, and he let go and fell on to the sand. When he got up he found that it was Samoa, and the land he had fallen on was Akana. Then he went for morning kava to Sinilau's and Sinilau made him one of his attendants (not a *matapule*).

The fish that were fed at Samoa were the *longouli* and the whale, and they were taken to a pool as playthings, and (the whale) was caught by another district and cut up, and its shoulder was taken and hung up in the house loft. The wife of Sinilau went there and

114 aries Maristes (29), Hazlewood (24), Pratt (32), and, to a less extent, to
other dictionaries of Polynesian languages.

In my possession is a book (7), in which are pencilled notes giving some
127 of the native names of plants, I think, by Mr. Crosby. I thank Mr. Crosby
for this kindness to one who is a stranger to him. Yet comparatively few
of the plants are thus distinguished, and it is to be hoped that recent
botanical work in Tonga will fill in the large gaps. To Mr. E. W. Gifford
I owe Graffe's very useful list of the birds of Tonga, with native, scientific,
and many popular names. To him also am I indebted for some of
the poems in this collection, and, jointly with Her Majesty Queen Salote
Tupou, for a copy of the "Royal and Chiefs' Genealogies." The published
papers of the late Rev. Dr. J. E. Moulton, and his unpublished papers (31)
have provided much material. I would also thank my colleague, the Rev.
R. C. G. Page, for frequent assistance. For the use of Tukuaho's Diary,
I am indebted to his son, His Royal Higness Prince Tungi.

For the tunes I am indebted to my old pupil Mr. Manoa Havea, to my
126 wife, and to Mr. S. Jackling, of Albury, New South Wales. Some airs
were written down for me by Mr. Havea, and others were sung by my
123 wife from memory and written by Mr. Jackling. My wife's idiomatic and
facile use of the Tongan language, her ability to place herself in relations
of easy familiarity with the people, and her keen interest in all that concerned
128 them have made me her constant debtor. To Tongan friends my
obligations are endless, and full acknowledgment is not possible; but in
especial would I thank His Royal Highness Tungi, the late Hon. Tupoutoa,
Miss Alice Ahio, many of my old pupils, both boys and girls, at the Tupou
College, Nukualofa, and boys of the newer section of the Tupou College at
Nafualu, in especial Manoa Havea, J. Havili, and F. Penitani.

But most of all do I owe to my friend and colleague at the Tupou College,
538 the Rev. John Havea. Tongan poetry, condensed, pregnant, is full
of allusions which require an intimate knowledge of the circumstances
referred to for their understanding. This applies to the compositions of
contemporaries. Much of the language and many of the allusions of the
poetry of an earlier, even comparatively recent, time are unintelligible to
124 most living Tongans. Without Mr. Havea's help this work would have
been impossible. What there is of fair interpretation of Tongan ways of
thought in it is owing to him, and I count myself fortunate to have had
many years of close association and intimate friendship with a man so intelligently
interested in the past and bravely hopeful for the future of his
people. I would have this paper be a memorial of our many conversations,
often extending far into the night, either in his room or in mine, at Nafualu.

Tu'ula he tata'anga lei,	Light on the place where ivory is carved, 539
Ifi e kele'a ta moe vehi.	Blow the conch, beat the drum. 76
Pehe ni ha 'aho kou ma 'i heni;	'Twas such a day that we were here;[11]
Mate 'ofa he enau nofo holo,	How I love their sitting about,
Taupala 'e he taka tolo,	Frequenting of those who come to the games,[12]
Tama 'ae fuifui pule'oto,[13]	The chief with necklace of *puleoto,*
'O tu'ula 'i he vao motelolo.	And they gather amongst the *motelolo.*[14]
Angi mai angi he he-'ia	Blow hither, blow, *he, he'ia,*
Langi faka-sinifu e nofo.	Choir of women farewell.[15]

ON THE DEATH OF THE TUI TONGA .

Very unfortunately the record of this very ancient poem has been mutilated. 539 The effort to recover the missing lines from the memory of a very 76 able Tongan who had read them was unsuccessful. Four lines and the 643 greater part of a fifth are missing. [127] [124]

Neu tu'u 'i Langi-'e-he-tupua,	I stood in Langiehetupua,[1]
Mana-foli lupe otu fonua,	Pigeons flew ominous throughout the lands,[2]
Na'i Mata-'o-peka mo Vei-tuna,	Ah, poor Mataopeka and Veituna,[3]
Faka'ofa 'e Malama-'i-saua,	Malamaisaua moves pity,[4]
Koe tu'i 'o mama mo 'otua.	King of earth and a god.[5]
Tanumanga ne tu'u moe tatau,	That which is buried was there with the screen,[6]
Tu'u ai 'Ala-'i-vaha-mama'o;	Alaivahamamao stood there;[7]
Koe Tu'a-niu hala kuo mao.	The Midrib-of-the-coconut-leaflet is dead, what a thing has happened.[8]
Na'i Lupe 'o Manono mo Fualu	Dear Pigeon of Manono and Fualu[9]
Tu'u (he?)..............................evalu	Stood..eight[10]
(four lines)	(four lines)
Ko homau Tu'i ka maliu atu	Our King is returning thither
'Oafio 'i Pulotu-tu'u-ma'u	To reign in Pulotutuumau.[11]
'Ae toki pata 'e asihau	Then the king's attendants rejoice[12]
'I he ene taulalo 'a Vava'u.	When Vavau sinks out of sight.[13]
Ho he.	*Ho he.*[14]

KOE TAKIPO O NAU

When a very great chief dies fires are kept burning throughout the 766 night round the house in which the body is lying. This ceremony, which is 764 called *takipo,* has been witnessed twice on a large scale in Nukualofa during recent years, once on the death of Fatafehi, Tui Pelehake, in 1912, and 372 again in 1918 when King George Tupou II died. [123] During the nights in which the king's body was lying in state, the Palace enclosure was surrounded by hundreds of torches, tended by people who sat noiseless. Each light was burning over a little hearth, called *fakaolaanga,* formed of a tray (*pola*) of plaited coconut leaf, on which were laid pieces of the stem of the plantain tree, covered with a layer of sand. To bring the sand for this purpose is *fala mai ae one one.*

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

The vigil is kept by the hillock of Pau,
Hunga kept the vigil, kept it Nuapapu,
They kept thy vigil in Fakapenau,
Thy vigil went out through the headlands,
In Otea and Motuahala 'twas kept,
Thy vigil was kept in Hikupapa,
'Twas kept by Taunga and the isles of Mala,
Thy vigil was kept in Nukumahanga,
Tauta watched, watched also Kapa,
Thy vigil was kept in Lautala,
Ofu watched, watched Mafana, 766
Koloa watched, watched Niuhaka.[6] 764
Thy vigil went through to Matoto,
Vaolongolongo tended vigil fires, 539
And Mahinahopo tended vigil fires,
Thy vigil was kept in Apivao,
Thy vigil went through to the east
Potuitoume tended vigil fires,
Thy vigil was kept in Faheke,
Vaimasiniake tended vigil fires,
And the steeps of Nove tended vigil fires.

ULAMOLEKA'S POEM ON THE DEATH OF VEAINU

A marvellous feat of memory is associated with this piece. Veainu was 764 the father of Falepapalangi, the bard, the friend of Ulamoleka, sailor and 539 poet. Falepapalangi and Ulamoleka were in Eua when the news of Veainu's death was brought from Tongatabu. Falepapalangi at once returned to 153 Tongatabu, but Ulamoleka stayed on in Eua. After a time he too returned to Tongatabu, and went to pay the customary ceremonial visit of condolence to his friend Falepapalangi. The visitor on these occasions always brings gifts such as mats, cloth, kava, food. The recipient formally thanks the giver for each of his gifts. Ulamoleka, however, brought nothing to Falepapalangi except a small piece of native cloth, which he spread on the ground before him, and then he recited this poem, which was the real gift to Falepapalangi. Falepapalangi thanked his friend for the cloth, and then said "Thanks for the —" and starting at the first line he went right through the piece, which he had just heard for the first time.

Some details are not clear, but the general trend is plain. The text was 764 badly written in pencil. Comparison with another copy, had it been available, might have cleared up some points. I have changed the order of a 539 very few lines. After the opening, recounting the receiving of the sad [127] news, the bard goes on to picture the collecting of mats, as a gift to the family in honor of the dead man. Having finished collecting mats in Tonga he imagines a voyage to Samoa, to get other mats, and the collecting of presents from Fiji. But after all mats and cloth are but perishable, and he will give another form of wealth, poetry.

Riding the waves in the surf of Makaunga,[1]
Mine the second, thine the first wave,[2]
And I went turning over
To Utupakisi, the pool.
The last breaker, and I come up ashore,
And the west wind brings the report,
My body shook and started,
No marvel lightnings flash and rains pour,
The vale in flood, Ohonua wave-girt.[3]
Yea, the head timbers of the roof,[4]
Alas, the treasure of Finemua.
Thought, meseems, is barren,
And storm is at hand,
And our anchor parted,
And we are driven beyond Hunga.[5]
And at once I made my thing of nought,
Would that my doing were as a double mat,

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 Kuo tei hoko hake ki he tonga,	Almost has the wind gone about to the south,
763 Pea ha'u leva hano kotofa	And straightway there comes the appointment
Keu 'alu hake 'o tali fononga	That I go and attend on the journey
'I he Moheofo moe Tu'i Tonga,	Of the Queen and the Tui Tonga,
Fata fano ko enau ma'imoa.	Borne in litters for their amusing.
Pe'i manatu'i hotau koloa	Then remember our wealth[18]
Na'e to 'ia Fuhi-fala-hola,	That was given by Fuhifalahola,
Koe'uhi keu fakafeaoa	That I might be in attendance
'A Uhi mo Lauaki mo Kioa.	With Uhi and Lauaki and Kioa.
Si'i ha'u Ha'apai 'o taunoa,	Dear coming of Haapai, and dismay,
Pea ha'u 'a Vava'u 'o mate he 'ofa,	And Vavau comes, and faints with pity,
Pea ha'u Niua mo Ha'amoa,	And Niua comes, and Samoa,
'O fakafehu'i ki hoto hingoa,	And they ask of my name,
He ko si'i tangata kou 'iloa,	For I am a man who am known,
Kuo kau he enau talanoa.	I have been the theme of their talk.
Ka malu pea nau hokoa,	In the shades of even they trace my descent,
Ete hua fasi moe lautoka.	My singing the tune and the harmony.
Pe kohai te ne fie fanongoa	Who will desire to harken
'Ae otu mau ta'e 'iloa,	To the row of poets unknown,
Pe ko ha tangata pe ha me'a noa?	Whether men or things of nought?

POEMS RELATING TO MARRIAGE

Voyage of Ulamoleka to Niua Toputapu

539 584 Ulamoleka, the chief fisherman of the Tui Kanokupolu, went to Niua Toputapu to espouse a beautiful chiefly maiden of that island. After his long voyage, however, he was mortified by the girl's refusal of his proposals. Friends and relatives of the girl, who did not wish the match, had represented to her that Ulamoleka was too old for her, and that he was not of sufficiently high birth. The poem is his reply to the calumniations of his ill-wishers.

[127] The text is published (30, 1875). A manuscript text is preserved (31). These texts, which differ slightly, have both been used in the translation here presented.

Well may the thunders crash and rains descend,
The earth quake and tremble with double shocks.
Thunders rumble around; I am bandied about in talk,
They sit about in judgment on me,
On this ill-advised voyage of mine.
Slanderous talk and cause of reproach.
Ne'er before have I seen a thing so strange,
Like the whisper in Manuka.[1]
Now first have I known
That the mat is chiefly, forsooth.[2]
Is thy mind foolish?
Is thy good sense hidden?
Am I a canoe to put about again,
To go and be re-made from some land,
That then you may wish to embark,
You girls who have but lately grown?
But is it not the manner of Tonga
That after uncounted moons one is old?
Is that a thing to be cause of remark?
For is there but one man so fated?
Believe rather 'tis our common weakness
That was brought to earth, the frequented—
Be not angered Aloua,[3]

crown, or a long lock at either side of her head, stiffened with a dressing of lime. She would also have a train of girl attendants, her *lahi*. She was taken to be the bride of Mulikihaamea, who gave her to Tangatailoa, the composer of this poem in honor of his patron and in praise of love. 539 584

Two copies of the text were available, one of which contained only the first two stanzas. Numbering at the side of the third stanza in the copy containing it indicates some uncertainty as to the correct order of the lines. The portion found in only one copy commences at the nineteenth line. [121]

'Ofa 'i he anga e,	How I love her way,
'Ofa 'i he anga kuo makehe,	Love her way that is her's alone,
Tuamafa u'ui kei vale;	Little green pigeon still unlearned;
He ta heua tu'ula ta'ahine,	A maiden's the pigeon we're seeking,
Manoa tu'ona ke hele.	Tug at the cord to entrap her.
Lata kita he lupe 'ata-lele.	My joy is the pigeon who flees as the shadow.
He a e he.	*He a e he.*
Kula pe ha lei pe fetu'u te,	Bead or ivory or floating star,[1]
Si-lopa pe ha fekite-tele.	Girdle or scented wreath.
He manu e to'a koe fefine,	A venturesome bird is woman,[2]
Situ'a peau 'i-'ate;	I turned away and was grieved;
Ne 'ikai launoa aipe,	Not for aye is her careless chatter,
'I he me'a tofo pe ne fefe.	No matter what strange thing befall.
Fiu fili 'ae fanga-hahake	The eastern strand is weary of wonder
'I hono tangata pe kuo 'i fe.	About its man, where he may be.
Tala-ange kuo lata he lave,	Tell them my joy is in dalliance,[3]
He taofi 'e he hala siale,	The road of the *siale* has kept me;
Ke kahoa he tui ve'eve'e,	On my neck the string of sweet blossoms,
Tuitu'u fakava'e siale.	My cincture entwined with *siale*.
Ka fehu'i mai Inu-mo-me'a,	If Inumomea ask about me,[4]
Tala-ange' ko Mulikiha'ame'a	Tell him Mulikihaamea[5]
Kuo hao hono toulekeleka,	Is still most handsome of men,
Moe angalelei kuo 'uea	And his kindliness has been moved
Ene toki mata-ngalo 'a Vaea.	To be forgetful of Vaea.
Tala ki he Hau ke nau ekea,	Tell the King that they seek me,[6]
Ke mua-vaka aki ki Lakepa,	Set the course by Lakepa,[7]
Ma'u-kuo-ma'a mo Tapukitea,	Maukuomaa and Tapukitea,[8]
Alo-tolu moe Kau-kupenga,	Alotolu and Kaukupenga,
Tapua-tamata mo hingano-leka,	Tapuatamata and *hinganoleka,*[9]
Unuoi-siale moe tetefa,	*Unuoisiale* and *tetefa,*
Pea omi moe Ao-'o-Uvea	And bring Aoouvea
Ma'ane teunga ki ha po-he'a.	To adorn her for a night of dancing.
'Ofa 'i he anga e.	How I love her way.

POEM OF TEUKAVA

(Also called the Recitation about Tukuaho)

Teukava, a chief of Hihifo, Tongatabu, is mentioned by Mariner (28, vol, 1, p. 279-280), who arrived in Tonga in 1806, and became closely associated with Finau Ulukalala, whom he accompanied and assisted in his wars.[A] These wars had commenced several years before Mariner's arrival. 114 669 634 [175]

A [See 2 and 3: Mariner, this file--Analyst] to have been shame at the participation of some of the Haa Ngata chiefs 643 in the murder of Tukuaho—Finau himself belonged to a junior branch of this line. [613] The chief whose claim to this kingship was strongest was Tupou Malohi, who, in spite of his name—Strong or Mighty Tupou—Mariner says humbled himself before Finau, and besought the grace of being allowed to live quietly in Haapai (28, vol. 1, pp. 283-287). Tupou Malohi, and after him Tupou Toa, are both included in the list of the Tui Kanokupolu; but during the first quarter of the nineteenth century there were chiefs in Tongatabu who actually wielded a greater power at times than the titular king. With the installation of Aleamotua, in 1827, this period of anarchy may be said to have come to an end; though the mutterings of the storm did not immediately die down. Aleamotua's reign saw the spread of [191] Christianity throughout the group, and the rise of Tupou Toa's son Taufaahau, who was destined to establish a peaceful and effective government from end to end of the group, absorbing into himself the prerogatives of both the Tui Kanokupolu and Tui Tonga. The kingship has continued in Taufaahau's family in peaceful and orderly succession.

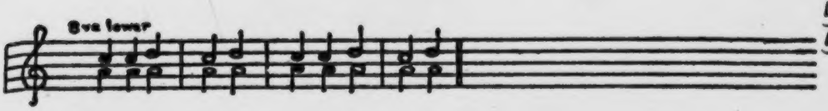
The text of the following poem was printed by Moulton (30). There is 127 also extant a shorter poem, identical in large part with this but showing some considerable differences.

POEM OF TEUKAVA[1]

539
669

Tangaloa, arise Maui,[2]
Harken his chain of stranger lands,
All this land of Tonga, yea all,
The assembly that is held at Foui,[3]
At Nukumaanu and Vakatofusi,
With Kaumatule and Pauli,[4]
For good is the course they kept
On the day when 'twas hard to steer.
The king's chiefs were vexed at heart[5]
For the part taken by the blind king,
Because of your hand that was shaken,[6]
And wavering stands [the land] in this lordship;
And Inasiulu went and sought—[7]
This is his name from abroad—
Slept in blood, completed, and overthrown.[8]
Tell Telasili at Tupou,[9]
Naeata and Vakaisanini.
A throng has gathered in this great road,
Majesty is in the lower chiefly road,[10]
And my thought was that unrest would be stilled,[11]
Ay, these evil folk be stilled;
But lo, they are filled with wrath,
Aroused, forsooth, by their foes,
My wrath, too, is aroused;[12]
Cease ye to hope.
It is as *lafo* pieces in close rivalry,[13]
That stands ahead, throw, unchanged.
But harken, O youths, to me,
And the sooth-sayer shall speak;
Stretch the sail and steer through the storm,[14]
The two hulls are loosened and she sails with difficulty.[15]
Be contented chief of Haakili[16]
In the victory that has been given,
Whilst this place has become desolate.
Earthquake and shaking of this Tonga,
And this land sits and makes conjectures
Whether it is a portent of voyage or sickness,[17]
Or a portent of Ula from this west,[18]
Or of folk who have remembered
The appearance from the wood of Pangai[19]
Of the flock who sat on the perch,
Tufaka and Langoia i Pangai,
Mataele who stayed to eat,
Piukana and Toloakaiasi.
Tonga here has been scattered abroad;

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

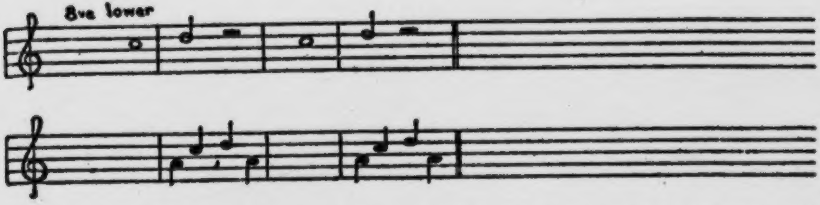


533
539

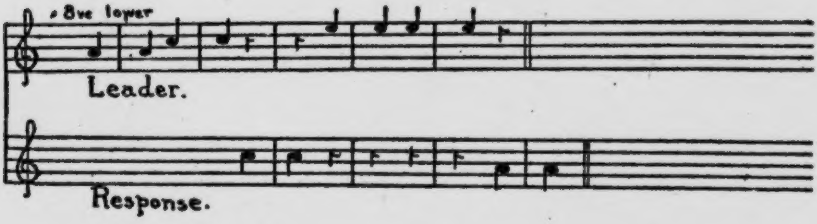
35

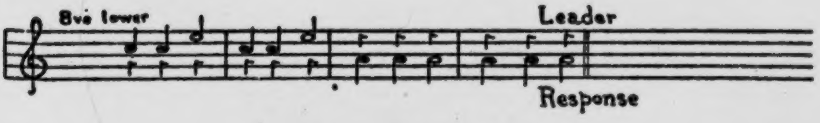
Hekeheka he puke;
Tongia. (Response)
Foki kovi aipe,
Tongia. (Response)

Sitting on the decking,"
Take your turn.
Keep returning badly,
Take your turn.



In two other chanties, sung by men hauling on heavy weights. "Tai-vo-vo, Tai-vo-vo" is sung by the leader. The response is "He-ae-ae a-e-a." [483]





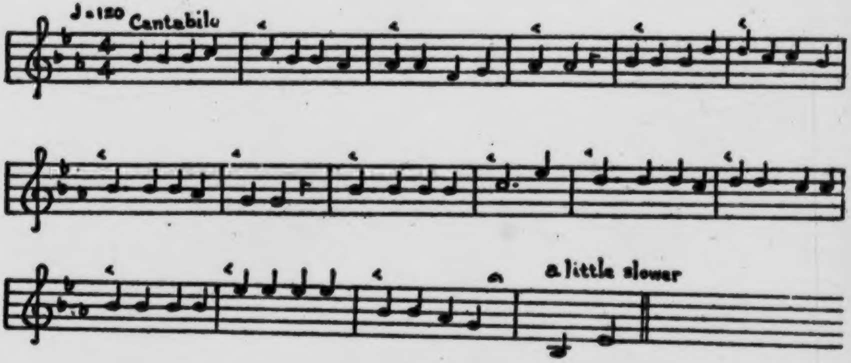
PRESENT-DAY LOVE SONGS

The following are a few specimens of a type of composition familiar today. The direct expression of love, which was noted as absent in earlier poetry, appears, probably through the effects of foreign influence. Sweet smelling flowers are very prominent, and such images as that of the pigeon. I have seen poems in which the stars are called to aid the expression of love. 533 539 538

Difficulties may be found in making some of the pieces whose tunes are given fit the tunes. I have not aimed at giving greater precision of meter 533 539 127

533 to the English than the Tongan composers give to their compositions. These
539 difficulties are overcome by phrasing, turning crotchets into semibreves or
127 quavers, and so on, as need arises.

Pieces of this sort, tunes and words, are being continuously composed.
533 A pleasing songbook could be collected of airs properly harmonized and
539 words treated freely so as to conform to the requirements of meter. With regard to subject matter, the Tongan theme could be taken and treated freely where desired.



Blossoms of *tetefa* and budding of *siale*,
Ah, my dear queen's longing that she be exalted;
Oh, my heart is pained by our separation,
Death's own self would not be to me so sore agony. *A-e.*

Am I a *siale* that my bloom should open?
Or am I a tropic-bird that I soar afar?
Oh, my heart is pained by our separation,
Death's own self would not be to me so sore agony. *A-e.*

To tune No. 14 are sung the following satiric verses: The boats come from Haapai to Tongatabu for what? To pluck sweet scented plants, and engage in festival and pleasure? No, they come because they are hungry
[552] and want yams, of which ***kahokaho*** and ***kaumeili*** are two kinds. ***Fetuu Aho*** and ***Volokaile*** are names of two boats.

Now there comes to shore the Fetuu Aho,
Haapai's western isles have voyaged hither;
Have they hither come to pluck the sweet hala?
Nay, they come to seek the Rahokaho. *A-e.*

Now there comes to shore the *Volokaile*,
Haapai's eastern isles have voyaged hither;
Have they hither come to pluck the leaves of myrtle?
Nay, they come to seek the *kaumeile*. *A-e.*

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 but containing a pun, the name meaning Man-who-believes-stories), or if anyone nearer home likes it let him have it."

Page 73. Falepapalangi

[121] 1. There are many obscurities in the details of this poem, some of which might have been cleared up had a second text been available.

[538] 2. It is not clear what is meant by exchanging poems. There might possibly have been an arrangement for performing each other's pieces which was not carried out. It may be a sarcastic reference to a claim of Mamaeaepoto that they were equal in poetic skill.

3. Mamaeaepoto is in the entourage of strong chiefs.

[538] 4. The two poets sought conquests amongst the women in separate districts, and the inference seems to be that, in their art too, they had better confine themselves to separate spheres or districts. The Feleave in the text seems to be an islet in the west of Tongatabu. The *siale* and the *hangale* are taken as typical plants of the two districts.

5. The meaning seems to be that "right from the commencement of our rivalry I showed myself a man of real achievement, while you have uttered nothing but foolishness; and whereas those foolish efforts of yours have proved futile, my poems have never lost their power to please."

6. Possibly there is a secondary meaning—make love.

7. To end. Besides the obvious meaning of engaging in the sport of snaring pigeons there is the meaning of winning the favors of women, who are frequently referred to as *lupe* (pigeon). He sarcastically tells his rival that he will get sweethearts for him and his party, as they have not much freedom to do anything for themselves.

Pages 73-79. Song of Tukulua

539 1. Nothing seems to be known of Tukulua beyond this poem, which was composed during the poet's illness.

76 2. *Huni* and *siale* are names of fragrant plants.

[538] [763] [824] 3. A slight emendation of *hotau* to *hoto* would give "my" instead of "our." If the text is correct, it means the boat that ultimately bears us all away. This line and the one following may be a general reference to his own past life, his days of health and happiness, or there may be something of a belief that the fortunes of his ghost ship, even in the days before his illness, were parallel to his own. But probably this should not be pressed. Through it all is perhaps recollection of the days of his strength, when even though the storm raged and his mainsheet was snapped, yet he could bring his boat safely through to land and embark his "dear desire," his sweetheart; or that he could win through all hazards because he had her with him on board.

[823] 4. Onevao is an islet off Tongatabu; Niutao is not identified. Evidently both places are associated with pleasant experiences.

5. Thunder and lightning are frequently mentioned as presaging death or disaster.

[763] [821] 6. *Pulotu 'aka'aka* should possibly be translated "widely ramified Pulotu." The word *'aka'aka* is regarded merely as an epithet of Pulotu, but the Rev. James Watkin says: "Bulotu *tete*, Bulotu *akaaka* and Bulotu *tuumau* are the names of the Tongan three heavens." Watkin was in a better position to gain information than any inquirer can be today.

[772] 7. Land of light (*mama*) is applied to the world of mortals, and to mortals themselves.

[192] [824] 8. The heilala (*Gardenia sp.*) is one of the plants used in the sweet-smelling wreaths and garlands. Leaf girdles are frequently hung at the head of graves, and are then called *tapu kahala*.

[769] 9. Pebbles, with which graves are adorned. Fatailangalanga is the name of an unidentified place.

[764] [192] 10. The reference means "Do not only give my body honorable burial, but also speak kindly of me." "Character" is *anga*. It is possible, however, that *anga* is an old word no longer known among Tongans, meaning "spirit." Compare Samoan *anganga*, thought, a disembodied spirit (32); Niue, *anganga*, the soul, spirit (35); Hawaiian, *anaana*, a prayer used to procure the death or curse upon one; witchcraft, divination, sorcery, and kindred meanings (1); and the well-known Tongan word, *angaanga*, corpse.

533 poem, is in the same region. It is a beach famous as a place for riding the breakers,
where the chiefs of eastern Tongatabu enjoyed this sport.

539 15. Vai Aku, may be translated "My pool," and it is quite possible that the bard
103 (Mulikihaamea himself?) refers to a pool named after himself.

16. This possibly is the name of some locality.

17. Huangalau is perhaps the name of a bonito fishing reef. If this be correct the "good report" would be, not of beauty, but of fruitfulness as a fishing place.

18. A conjectural translation is made of *"fili taloi."* A variant *filitai*, is unintelligible to me.

19. Fakaulunafa is in eastern Tongatabu; and doubtless Valekatoua is there also.

Pages 116-117. A song of fishers

533 1. This piece was probably performed by a line of women, either standing or
sitting, with perhaps a line of men behind them. Actions of the hands would repre-
539 sent the various phases and actions of the chase.

1a. The time indicated is December to January (Liha Mua).

2. Tefisi, an important and widely distributed Polynesian name. There are
[551] numerous occurrences of the name throughout every part of Tonga, with which are
associated chiefs of all the great houses, Tui Tonga, Tui Haatakalaua, and Tui Kanokupolu (21).

[103] 3. Fasia, a beach on the islet of Nukunukumotu.

4. Tofoa; a reef near Fasia. Halakakala; a fishing ground near the island of
[103] Eueiki.

5. Faiana is a cave at the bottom of a steep cliff in Eua. The other names are
[103] not identified, but are doubtless names of fishing grounds, tracts of the sea, points of
land, or the like. Taane (spelling uncertain, Taane, Tane) may possibly be a hint
[776] that the great god Tane, so important in some parts of Polynesia, but of whom nothing
is to be heard in Tonga, was not always unknown in this group. (See 34.)

6. The word *lau matangi* means wind-reckoner, that is, sea captain.

[276] 7. When a great chief comes ashore from a voyage the head sailor (*toutai*)
distributes the kava at the first ceremonial kava-drinking.

8. This translation is purely conjectural. It is not unlikely that the text is
[127] corrupt.

9. In taking *mana* to mean thunder there is of course the implication that the thunder is *mana*, omen, sign, for the fishing expedition.

533 10. Holaavaki, a beach in Eueiki.

539 11. Matafota, the sea near Halakakala.

12. Vainoa is probably a name of a stretch of sea, but possibly it is just descrip-
103 tive of the place where the fishers row about, an open waste of sea.

13. Hopohoponga, the name of a stretch of sea.

14. In Nimafuaatu the division of words is uncertain, but taken together they are probably the name of a stretch of sea. Taken as an expression, *nima-fua-uta* describes accurately the method of carrying the bonito, *atu*. When the *atu* is taken to a chief it is *fua*, carried on the shoulder, not *tokitaki*, carried in the hand. "Into the shallow," indicates that the pursuit is driving the fish inshore.

15. Peauapuaka is unidentified, but is conjectured to be a place in the sea. The suggestion is made that it may be the name of a place where the fishermen frequently cease from their sport, and get together to eat. The remains of the food, among which would be pig, are thrown into the sea; hence Wave-of-pig.

16. Late is of frequent occurrence as a place name. Houma Late is a headland on the eastern coast.

533 17. Tama and Upeupe are names of fishermen.

539 Pages 117. A song of fishers

[551] 1. In the Tongan text this piece is headed Sinaitakala i Langileka, Tui Tonga
Fefine. Several of the known Tui Tonga Fefine are named Sinaitakala, being distin-
guished, as here, by some addition to the name. The descriptive "i Langileka" was
533 added probably after the death of this Sinaitakala, and indicates the royal vault in
539 which she is buried. It is still the custom to speak of deceased kings according to
their place of burial. Sinaitakala i Langileka was the daughter of Telea, the twenty-
643 ninth Tui Tonga, who lived about the middle of the seventeenth century. She and

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Archaeology of Tonga

By W. C. McKern

INTRODUCTION

In Tonga, as elsewhere in Polynesia, there is little break between pre- 128
historic and historic culture. The archaeology and ethnology overlap and
blend. The present work, therefore, is a study of archaeological remains 128
which takes the fullest advantage of available traditions, ethnological evidence, 127
and historical accounts that relate to ancient structures.

As a member of the Bayard Dominick Expedition of Bernice P. 114
Bishop Museum, I was afforded the opportunity for a general but careful survey of Tongan archaeology during a period extending from September, 1920, to June, 1921.

The extent of my work would have been greatly lessened but for the 000
active interest and cooperation of Her Majesty the Queen of Tonga and Prince William Tungi, and for the sanction and assistance of the Tongan Government through the offices of the Premier, the Honorable Tui Vakano. My thanks are also due to Mateialona, Kalaota, Solomon Ata, Joele Pangia, Vaia, Tuita, Tamale, Malupo, Matauvave, John Havea, Uhatafi, Malakai Lavulo, Kautai, Fakatava, Mary Valevale, and many other Tongans whose services are no less appreciated. Among European residents who rendered me valuable assistance are Mr. John Clemens, Mr. A. Cunningham, Mr. W. H. Murley, Mr. W. Scott, Mr. A. B. Wallace, Father Deguerry, the Rev. R. C. G. Page, the Rev. Saunders and the Rev. E. E. V. Collocott.

The spelling of native names and terms as used in this paper follows that 128
adopted by Gifford (10, p. 4).

The Tongan archipelago comprises more than one hundred islands. The 133
largest of these, Tongatabu, has a maximum length of about 25 miles. Many of the islands are so small as to call for a statement of size in terms of rods rather than miles.

With the exception of a numerically small chain of volcanic islands, bordering the easternmost margin of the archipelago, Tonga is formed largely of coral rock. Some islands, however, consist of a base of volcanic tuff superficially covered with coral and foraminiferal limestones, and attain not inconspicuous elevations. Eua, for example, is 1,070 feet high. The tallest of the volcanic islands, Kao, attains an elevation of 3,380 feet. Most of the islands, however, are relatively flat and low.

The archipelago is naturally divided into three groups of islands, inter-

[p. 3]

[no pp. 1-2]

172 The mounds vary considerably in size. One called Huluipaongo (*hulu*,
764 dry leaves; *paongo*, a vine producing the *hulu* leaf, now growing plentifully
about the mound), is situated near the southwest point of the island of
Lifuka, Haapai. It is 15 feet high, with a diameter of 40 feet at the top
[175] and 110 feet at the base. This mound contains the tomb of the Matauvave
family, and as the first Matauvave was appointed governor of Haapai by the
Tui Tonga Kauulufonuafekai at a date approximating 1540, was probably
built in the sixteenth century.

An ancient *faitoka*, situated at a place called Houmakalae near the town of Otea, Kapa, Vavau, is 16 feet in height and 100 feet in base diameter. It is called Avatongo (*ava*, crevice; *tongo*, mangrove shrub), but no accurate information was found regarding its history.

The average *faitoka*, however, is smaller and is well represented by that
called Kelekelemeifisi (*kelekele*, earth; *mei*, from; *fisi*, Fiji), situated on the
southern outskirts of the town of Maofanga, Tongatabu. It has a maximum
[173] height of 8 feet and a base diameter of 75 feet. It is the burial place of
Lavakahaatuukau, an important chieftain who moved to Maofanga from
Mua and there built this *faitoka*, according to tradition, exclusively from earth
brought from Fiji.

[217] The Tongans maintain an admirable respect for their ancient dead, a
respect which is strengthened by well kept genealogical records, by means of
which present day inhabitants trace their descent from those buried in many
[128] of the ancient tombs. Archaeological excavation of *faitoka* is prohibited and
a thorough study of stone vaults (*fonualoto*) is therefore impossible. The
one vault available for observation, though not in a *faitoka*, probably closely
resembles it in every particular (p. 50).

172 I am indebted to Mr. Guttenbeil of Niafu, Vavau, for a description,
764 based on first hand observation, of a *faitoka* vault. Mr. Guttenbeil witnessed
the burial of a boy related to Maatu in the vault of the ancient Maatu *faitoka*
127 on the island of Niuatoputapu. According to his account, confirmed by
Maatu and other qualified informants, the vault had not been used for several
generations and its exact whereabouts in the more recent burial ground,
which had come to practically cover the *faitoka*, was known only by one old
172 woman. She indicated the place to dig. The workmen dug through many
764 more modern graves, placing the exhumed bones carefully to one side.
Finally they came to the flat stone lid of the vault, which was 15 feet long
and 10 feet wide. It was found to be so heavy that all attempts to remove it
failed. Accordingly, one end was cut off to afford an opening. The narrator
with others entered the vault. It had four perpendicular slab walls and a
horizontally placed slab for floor. The stones were smoothly dressed. A
skeleton lay prone, face up, in the center of the vault floor. This they
reckoned to be the remains of the Maatu who built the tomb. Around the

central figure on every side were numerous skeletal remains so disposed as to imply that the individuals represented had been placed sitting about the walls, facing the center. These were reckoned to have comprised the "companions," those who were elected to accompany the dead chieftain, as servants, to the world of the dead. There was about 1 foot of fine, dark colored dust covering the floor, the probable remains of material goods, such as fine mats and tapas, buried with the dead out of respect to his wealth and station. 172 764

Mariner (16, vol. 1, p. 144) gives the measurements of a vault observed in Haapai as 8 feet long, 6 feet wide, and 8 feet deep. 127 172 764

LANGIS

DISTRIBUTION AND GENERAL FEATURES

Native traditions and records name 45 langis, 37 are on Tongatabu, 6 in the Haapai group and but 2 in Vavau. Of the langis on Tongatabu, 28 are in or near the town of Mua, the modern survival of Lapaha, the ancient capital of the Tui Tonga dynasty. 172 764

All the 45 langis referred to by combined sources of information were actually examined, although specific identification of some is doubtful, and for a few of them was not attempted. [127] [128]

In structural type, langis do not adhere to a uniform technique warranting group classification. Some langis are not to be distinguished, structurally, from *faitoka*; others are composed of from one to five rectangular platforms, each retained by perpendicular stone walls. Where a plurality of platforms occurs, the smaller are mounted upon the larger in regular succession, according to corresponding differences in lateral dimensions, to form stepped pyramidal structures. Many of these are of imposing size. One or more stone vaults, entered from the flat top of the structure, are present in most langis, but there are exceptions to this rule (pp. 55, 114).

The one attribute which all langis share, the one factor which serves to group them, is use; they are invariably the tombs of important members of the Tui Tonga "family," which includes not only the immediate family of the reigning king but also the family of the Tamaha, of the Tui Tonga Fefine and of certain closely related chiefly families such as that of the Tui Haatakalaua. However, in langi burials there was no confusion or uncertainty as to rank. 172 764 644

All stones in the retaining walls and also in vaults, judging from reports and from the single vault examined, are rectangularly dressed and fashioned of coral "sandstone" or reef limestone. Of the two materials, "sandstone" by far predominates. 172 764

Both Cook (4, vol. 1, pp. 312-314) and Forster (9, vol. 1, pp. 451-452) observed and to a certain extent described some of the langis at Mua, Tonga- [175] [114]

> 172 349 A cross section of each of the two shafts and of the lintel approaches a rectangular parallelogram. The upright pieces are placed with their long lateral faces roughly parallel to each other and approximately extending north-south. They rise from their foundations gradually tapering inward toward the top, a feature more accentuated in the western column.
>
> At the approximate center of each upright piece is a vertical square-cut mortise of sufficient width to allow the lintel to slip into it edgewise with several inches of play on either side, and of sufficient depth to bring the top edge of the lintel to a common plane with the tops of the columns. This common plane is not level, as the western column is 1.5 feet higher than the eastern. The ends of the lintel are practically even with the outer sides of the uprights.

The central upper surface of the lintel is marked by a shallow circular depression of small diameter, smoothly regular in outline and obviously artificial.

It was determined by excavations at selected places that the bases of the upright pieces extend at least two feet into the ground. Fear that the structure would fall prevented further exposure of the foundations.

● [127] There is an unpublished account of excavations made by Mr. Ames, the first Wesleyan teacher in this district, to determine the depth of the foundations. According to his testimony, as supported by eye witnesses, the base of each upright is mortised into limestone bedrock and the space left between mortise and tenon packed with small limestone chips. A fear that the removal of these chips would weaken the stability of the structure prevented his determining the true depth to which the great shafts of stone penetrate.

That the uprights are well anchored is shown by the fact that the massive roots of a large *ovava* tree shaped themselves about the base of the western stone shaft, without budging its position. King George I Tupou had the tree removed in order to preserve the monument. It has been estimated that the visible portions of the two uprights weigh each between 30 and 40 tons.

172 349 173 644 [115] The following account of the origin and construction of the Haamonga was obtained from an old chieftain, Tamale of Haameniuli, Tongatabu, who is the direct descendant in a long line of chieftains closely associated with the Tui Tonga and is fulfilling the duty of keeping in memory the great deeds of the kings. The peculiar official duties of this family are said to have been inaugurated at a time preceding the reign of Tuitatui.

> 172 349 173 643 Tuitatui was the Tui Tonga who built the trilithon. That was at a time preceding the removal of the king's house to Lapaha (now Mua). Tuitatui had established himself at Heketa near the site of the Haamonga. The trilithon was erected as a monument to his two sons; Lafa was the elder and Talaihaapepe the younger. The structure had the symbolical significance of representing the two sons in the upright shafts, the eastern and western columns respectively symbolizing the elder and younger son. The lintel uniting the columns represented the inseparable bond of brotherhood uniting these two great men. It seems that the Tui Tonga was afraid that there would be a rupture between his sons after he was gone and erected the monument as a lasting protest against such a possibility.

DISCUSSION OF STONE STRUCTURES

ORIGIN OF STRUCTURES

There is no reasonable doubt that the dressed stone structures of Tonga, 172
the stone-walled *esi* and langis and the trilithon, are the products of the
present inhabiting race. There is not the slightest evidence warranting the
assignment of an age to any of these structures which would be incompatable
with such a conclusion. The technique of stone dressing is quite within the
limits of Tongan talent and equipment. The necessary methods of quarrying,
transportation and erection harmonize perfectly with the state of primitive
Tongan culture. The necessary organization of man-power required in the
undertaking of such huge constructive projects was the logical result of
centralized power vested in the single head of political and social Tonga, the
Tui Tonga. Local tradition reflects not the slightest doubt as to Tongan 172
origin. Native accounts of the building and use of these structures have the
practical and accurate sound of historical records; most of them are sur- 173
prisingly free from even the most obscure mythological associations. The
mythical accounts are easily separated from historical accounts and are
patently free from historical purpose. Some of these structures were actually 172
built in historic times under the observation of reliable European witnesses. 175
Many of them are still used from time to time in their traditional capacity.

This impressive ethnological evidence justifies the treatment of these interesting monuments as the work of the immediate ancestors of the present population of the archipelago. 172

RELATIVE AGE OF LANGIS 127

During the search for information regarding specific langis, a list of named
langis on Tongatabu, written in Tongan, was placed at my disposal. In it are
a few historical notes. The true source of this material is rather doubtful.
It was first seen in a notebook in the possession of Uhatafe, an old man of 127
Mua, Tongatabu, who is directly descended from a line of high matapules 217
formerly in the service of the Tui Tonga. Uhatafe stated that he had
written the notes when young, having gotten the information from his father,
who had in turn received it from his father, and so on. Identically the same 127
list was later found in a magazine printed in Tongan by the Catholic mission
at Mua. Whether or not this printed version had been copied from Uhatafe's
book could not be determined. The following is a translation of the manu- 764
script: 173

> The book of succession of the different langis, and information concerning those who made them; their names are also given. 172
>
> The different langis are known, but as to who made each and who is buried there, some are [known] and others not.

764 1. The first langi, Fangaloso, situated at Navai, town of Lufe.

2. And the langi Folokamanu which stands at Mataliku on the outskirts of the town
173 of Pea.

3. And the langi Matamoana which stands between Tufamahina and Talangaholova.

172 4. And the langi Makamaka which stands between Fuamotu and the *api* Haavaka. This langi is where a pregnant Tui Tonga Fefine, she who was nicknamed Fuamotu Tofamoealo by Mohulamu.

[643] 5 and 6. Then he [the Tui Tonga] transferred to Hahake and two langis were built, that of Heketa and the langi Moungalafa, and that was the work of Tui Tonga Tuitatui.

[643] And when the king Tukuaho was murdered, the grandfather of Tungi, who was named Mulikihaamea, became the Tui Tonga. He was the Tui Tonga Maulupekotofa, and the Tui Tonga Pau his brother. Their father was Tuipulotu II. They had different mothers.

Names of the langis of Mua:

1. Langi Tuoteau.
2. Langi Tauatonga.
3. Langi Matuatonga (or Katoa).
4. Langi Tofaua, the stone Kopau (or Luani).
5. Langi Tauhala.
6. Langi Leka, the stone Tuituiohu.
8. Langi Taetaea.
9. Langi Tuofefafa. (Here are buried Tuipulotu and Tokemoana.)
10. Langi Paepaeotelea.
12. Langi Namoala.
13. Nakulukilangi.
14. Langi Tongamanatu.
15. Langalangafehi.
16. Langi Koolonamu.
17. Langi Lili.
18. Langi Olomaloa.
19. Langi Faletoonga.
20. Langi Tamatiu.

[127] The following additions to this data were gleaned from material furnished by Prince Tungi, translated by Rev. E. E. V. Collocott.

Langi Leka. Four terraces. Work of Tulunga.

Langi Tafaua. One terrace. Two buried there, Tokemoana and Tafolo. There stand the stones Vuna and Mataele.

Langi Tauatonga. Three terraces.

Langi Taetaea. There stands the stone Hakalukuanganava of Tuihaapula. One terrace.

Langi Tauhakelevu. One terrace.

Langi Mau. Four terraces. There stands the named stone Tuituiohu.

Langi Katoa. Five terraces. One named stone there.

Langi Tuoteau. One terrace. Tuipulotu there.

Langi Foou. Two terraces. The stone Pau, a volcanic stone.

Langi Paepaeotelea. Three terraces.

Langi Namoala. Three terraces. This is the langi of the woman Finau. Her mother, Latutama, lamented—and this is her lament: Come ye and carry out the burial.

Uhatafe's list of langis certainly pretends to be chronologically arranged
172 in order of building. Upon examination, it was found that the first on the
764

the imagination of its perpetrators, a work never again attempted by Tongan 172 173
stone masons.

Tradition then gives a detailed account of the transfer of royal head- 643
quarters from Hahake to Lapaha, the site of the present town of Mua. This [764]
remained the home of the Tongan kings until the middle of the nineteenth
century. The fortifications surrounding Lapaha, the oldest part of Mua, [712]
are reported to have been built by one of the earliest of the Mua-dwelling
kings. This statement coincides with the small number of langis to be found 172
inside the fortification. Of the four langis in Lapaha, three are named in the 764
list where they immediately follow the Hahake langi.

Again, the period intervening between Tuitatui and Telea, as represented 173
by number of langis built, closely coincides with the same period as repre-
sented in genealogies. Thus, there are 10 langis listed between those said to [643]
have been built by Tuitatui and that built by Telea. There were 17 Tui
Tonga between these two monarchs, but it is definitely known that more than
one king were sometimes buried in a langi.

There is then a certain amount of evidence to support the acceptance of 172
the traditional list of langis at its face value as a chronological record. The 173
decadency of type in the later structures might be explained by the parallel 764
decandency of the power of the Tui Tonga, a traditional and to some extent
historical fact. This weakening of the old dynasty of kings was well under 643
way when Cook first visited the group. Great power vested in the king, or [127]
in some other leader, was an essential factor in the building of any structure
requiring the highly organized labor necessary to the successful building of
the largest and finest of the Tongan langis.

There are, however, portions of this supposed chronology which cast 172
doubtful shadows over its chronological value. 173

In Uhatafe's list the paragraph immediately following the account of the 764
work of Tuitatui refers to the kings Tukuaho, Tuipulotu II, Maulupeko‘ofa,
and Pau. These rulers lived about twenty-four generations after Tuitatui, 127
according to Tongan genealogies. This paragraph is therefore certainly out 643
of place in any chronological sequence of events. These same genealogies
name fifteen rulers intervening between Nuitamatou, probably the last Tui
Tonga to reign before the capitol was moved to Lapaha, and Telea, whereas
there are only nine langis in the list assigned to this period. As explained
before, there is no necessary discrepancy here. The larger of the langis are
said to contain several vaults each. Some kings were also buried abroad, as
stated by tradition and as supported by the presence of langis on other islands
of the Tongan group. This list, however, places Tuipulotu I in the ninth
Mua langi, whereas Telea's langi is number ten. Genealogical data disputes
this order in naming Tuipulotu the fourth king following Telea. Of course
there is the possibility that Tuipulotu was buried in a tomb belonging to one

172 of his ancestors, and that the langi might have been built before Telea's time.
173 This, however, seems improbable. Ten langis occur in the list following that
127 of Telea. There are exactly ten Tui Tonga named in genealogies following
764 Telea, but at least one of these is buried, according to tradition, on another
island and the last, Laufilitonga, was buried in historic times in one of the
643 other langi. Here again the discrepancy is not fatal to the accuracy of the list. One positive and one probable mistake in the list, however, with other detail that does not check up too well, serve to a certain extent to discredit the entire list as an accurate chronological account.

There is an apparent conflict between the Uhatafi and the Tungi records. According to Uhatafi, Tokemoana and Tuipulotu were buried in the langi Tuofefafa. According to Tungi, Tokemoana was buried in the langi Tafaua and Tuipulotu in Tuoteau. However, inasmuch as there were two kings sharing the name Tuipulotu and as it is Tuipulotu II, according to several records, who is buried in Tuoteau, and as Tokemoana may have been a family name shared alike by many succeeding family heads, the contradiction can not be positively accepted as discrediting either of the records.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE LANGI

172 There are many reasons for doubting the independent development of
333 the langi type of structure in Tonga. The abrupt appearance of highly
[764] developed stone masonry during the reign of Tuitatui may indicate an introduction of the art into Tonga at that particular time. So highly developed an art is not likely to be born within a primitive society in one generation. It requires time and experimentation to develop skilled craftsmen who could construct a Haamonga or a Heketa.

172 There is a native story which recounts the arrival in Tonga, during the
173 reign of Tuitatui, of a great foreign chieftain, presumably from Fiji. His boat was the largest and finest which the Tongans had ever seen, and built of *fehi* (*Afzelia bijuga*) wood, previously unknown to them. From the wood of this vessel was built a *fata* (a sun shelter in the form of a wall-less house with a loft open at either end). The name Fatafehi, has been in common use in the Tui Tonga family ever since. This foreign chieftain seems to have made a great impression upon the Tongans and to have introduced several new customs and culture elements, but no mention is made
172 of his introducing the art of stone masonry. While considering the possibility of foreign influences, it may be well to note that, according to all available evidence, the best of Samoan stone structures seem to have been built by the Tongans rather than by the Samoans—a conclusion supported by both Tongan and Samoan traditions.

172 Skill in stone dressing could have been acquired gradually through a long
333 period of vault construction, thus leaving no surface evidence of a period of

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

ment (fig. 44, *g*). Velata is said to have been first constructed to resist the armies of Taufaahau, who later became George I Tupou. It was not used, however, at that time.

5. Uiha, island of Uiha, Haapai. This town was at one time fortified by a single wall and moat.

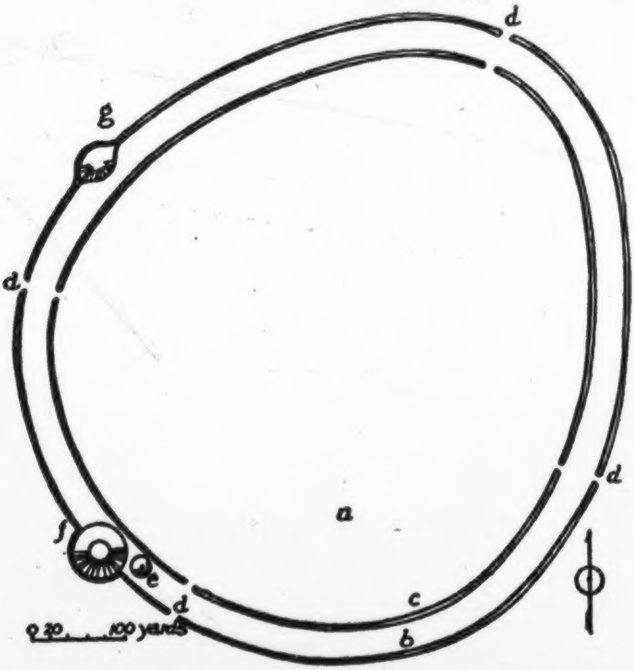


FIGURE 44.—Plan of Kolo Velata, Lefuka Island: *a*, enclosed area 553 yards by 540 yards; *b*, *c*, earthen walls 18 feet thick at base, 6 to 7 feet high with accompanying moats 6 feet maximum depth, 10 feet average width; *d*, gateways; *e*, artificial well; *f*, *faitoka*, height 12 feet, base diameter 165 feet, top diameter 60 feet; *g*. *faitoka* (?):

6. Tungua, island of Tungua, Haapai. This town was formerly protected by a wall and moat.

7. Kolotao (*tao*, war), or Toamotu, reported be situated on the volcanic island of Late, Haapai.

Kolotao is one of the most interesting forts of Tonga, although diminutive in comparative size. I did not visit it. According to reports, the fortifications at Late consist of a small circular area less than 100 yards in diameter enclosed by a fence of rough, loosely piled stones, 3 to 5 feet high and about 6 feet wide at the top. The wall is

172 6. Fangavahe, a cave under the hill Hufangalupe, near Vaini, island of
764 Tongatabu, is reported to contain human bones.

7. Large cave in the shore cliff just west of Hoouma, island of Eua.

172 According to one story, the human bones found in the cave near Hoouma are the remains of a party of war refugees who had been discovered in their hiding place.
764 Their enemies built a fire before the cave mouth and those within all died from suffocation. This story is told of various caves scattered all over the Tongan group. It
173 seems to be a favorite means of accounting for the presence of bones in caves. A more reliable informant stated that the cave was a burial place and that the bodies had originally been placed in rows. The presence of an apparently artificial stratum of white sand on the cave floor, under the bones, suggests burial.

LAPAHA, THE KING'S VILLAGE

172 The village of Mua, situated on the shore of a lagoon, about 5½ miles
361 southeast of Nukualofa, was for many generations the seat of Tongan government. As such, it was the center of Tongan life and culture, and remains the richest spot in archaeological monuments in the entire archipelago.

172 Information regarding the ancient plan of the town was obtained from
124 old men and women who have long resided there, some of them the direct descendants of individuals whose official business it was to keep track of just such information. The ranking direct descendant of the last Tui Tonga was
172 one of the chief informants. Another source of information is the consider-
[127] able mass of mythological material assembled by Gifford (13). Personal
[126] observations produced the measurements and descriptions of the existing remains of ancient structures.

172 Mua is divided into two districts (fig. 46). The northern half including
175 the area known as Maolunga is the ancient Lapaha, the southern half is the
361 comparatively recent addition called Tatakamotonga. Lapaha was divided
[643] between the Tui Tonga, the ruling dynasty for many generations, and the Tui Haatakalaua, a chiefly family closely related to the Tui Tonga, who dominated the political life of Tonga for a period preceding the rise of the Tui Kanokupolu, the present dynasty.

Cook (4, vol. 1, pp. 282-283) contributes the following interesting description of Lapaha:

> The place we went to was a village, most delightfully situated on the bank of the
> [342] inlet, where all, or most of the principal persons of the island reside; each having his
> [351] house in the midst of a small plantation, with lesser houses, and offices for servants. These plantations are neatly fenced round; and, for the most part, have only one entrance. This is by a door, fastened, on the inside, by a prop of wood; so that a person
> [363] has to knock before he can get admittance. Public roads, and narrow lanes, lie between each plantation; so that no one trespasseth upon another. Great part of some of these
> [351] inclosures is laid out in grass-plots, and planted with such things as seem more for ornament than use. . . . There are some large houses near the public roads, with spacious smooth grass-plots before them, and inclosed. These, I was told, belonged to the king; and, probably, they are the places where their public assemblies are held.

found to be much more plentiful in lower strata where the European elements 172
were lacking. The occurrence of pottery at various, scattered sites indicates
a general rather than a peculiarly local use. The ware may be described, 323
briefly, as rude, indifferently made, and serviceable rather than ornamental.

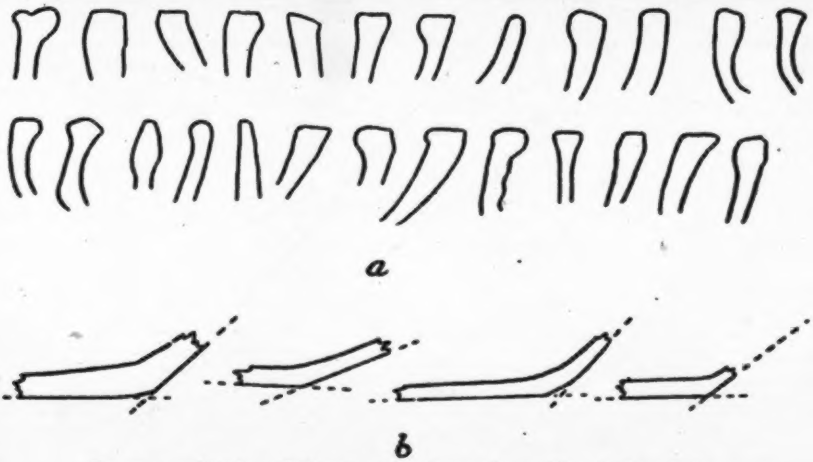


Figure 49.—Sketches of Tongan potsherds: *a*, rim profiles; *b*, base angles.

Though ethnologists have generally disregarded the presence of pottery 172
in any part of Polynesia, there are several published references to the prim- 323
itive use of pottery in Tonga. Cook (3, vol. 2, p. 21) says: "They [natives 175
of Nomuka] have some of the same sort of earthen pots we saw at Amster- [171]
dam [Tongatabu]; and I am of opinion they are of their own manufacture, [127]
or that of some neighboring isle." Forster (9, vol. 1, p. 471) saw pottery
on Eua, of which he says:

"We likewise bought some small earthen pots, perfectly black with soot on the outside, and suspected them to be memorials of Tasman's voyage; but afterwards we rather believed that they were manufactured by the natives themselves." D'Urville (5, vol. 4, p. 281) finishes a paragraph on Tongan cooking methods with: ". . . enfin quelquefois ils les font bouillir dans les vases en terre qu'ils tirent des isles Viti."

Dillon (6, vol. 2, p. 81) contributes the following to the historical evidence: "They perform the process of boiling in earthen pots of the manufacture of the Feejee Islands. . . ." [171]

The accounts, few as they are, are conflicting. Cook and Forster thought 172
the pottery of local manufacture. D'Urville and Dillon positively state that 323
127
114

172 it was brought from Fiji, but neither of these writers, whose works include
323 a great deal of material borrowed from previous reports, especially Mariner's,
127 were above expressing an opinion as a fact, even when the opinion was
114 appropriated from another writer, without personal investigation. Of the four writers, Cook was the most careful observer and authentic reporter, but his contribution is admittedly an opinion, of which Forster's statement is probably a reflection.

172 Burton (1, p. 52) has shown that the Fijians were the best potters in
323 Oceania and it seems highly probable that Tongan pottery had its original
171 conception in Fiji (Pl. VI, *B*), but it seems altogether improbable that the Tongans, using pottery rather extensively as it seems, went to Fiji for all
[181] their pots. The very character of the Tongan, with his alert resourcefulness, striking adaptibility, and eager readiness to learn, contradicts such a possibility.

[128] Unfortunately, the amount and condition of the material available from Tonga is such that a direct comparison with modern Fijian specimens is not as profitable as could be wished. However, such a comparison bears some fruit.

Fijian pottery consists of red and brown ware, lightly fired (20, pp. 38-39). In these respects it is identical to Tongan ware. Fijian ware includes two distinct types, cooking pots and decorated vessels. The cooking-pot ware seems identical in material and surface to a large proportion
172 of the Tongan potsherds. The decorated ware includes many prettily de-
323 signed drinking cups, vessels with compound bodies, handled ware, and vessels with eccentric shapes, all more or less embellished with decorative
171 fillets and nodes in salient relief, and with incised lines and simple patterns
531 (8, pp 194-195). No examples of relief decoration, or of elaborate shapes, were found in examining the Tongan ware. Not even the broken fragment of a pottery handle was found. Incised lines and simple patterns decorate several of the sherds, but the design and technique differ materially from those I have seen on Fijian pottery, which is tempered with sand (24, p. 5).
172 The Tongan pieces show no apparent tempering of any kind, but may con-
323 tain a small amount of fine sand. The finer ware of Fiji is varnished, while still hot, with an application of the gum of the *dakau* (19, pp. 357-359).
171 It is doubtful whether this surfacing would have long survived under conditions accompanying the accumulation of kitchen refuse. In any case, no such surfacing was seen on Tongan ware although some pieces exhibit smooth, semi-glossy exteriors. A red surface was applied to some Fijian vessels through the use of a vegetable stain (24, p. 5). A similar treatment may account for the unnaturally bright red surfaces of some Tongan sherds.

Tongan Astronomy and Calendar

By E. E. V. Collocott

From the exceedingly fragmentary and obscure accounts it 821
appears that the Tongans possess but the vaguest notions of the
heavens and of the relations of the sky to stars and sun and moon.
They evidently thought of a number of skies, one above the other.
One informant expressed the opinion that the number of skies was
as great as one hundred. He also suggested a connection between [764]
the skies and the great burial vaults at Mua and elsewhere, and it
is worthy of note that sky and vault are called by the same name,
langi. The stars are said to be in the highest sky.

So far as I have been able to discover, the study of astronomy 502
was treated by the Tongans as a branch of navigation. Certain it [815]
is that these bold and skilful mariners were keen observers of the heavens and that no small part of the equipment of the old sea captains was the ability, based rather on experience and judgment than on rules, to determine when to shift from one star or constellation and to set the course by another group.

Practically the whole of the available star lore of the Tongans 127
is embraced in sailing directions written by the late Tukuaho, a high chief who was Premier of Tonga about thirty years ago. Tukuaho, fortunately, was an intelligent diarist who carefully wrote down what he heard. His account, copied with permission of his son Tungi, Consort of Her Majesty Queen of Tonga, has been followed in the preparation of this paper.

Few if any living Tongans are able to point to and name more 821
than a very small proportion of the stars, and only in rare
instances have I been able to identify the stars named. This rapid 502
decay of the old astronomy is doubtless due to the universal use of the mariner's compass. Star lore was preserved by the old navigators, but there is no longer need to rely upon it.

175 far as Mua, driving their enemy before them to Hihifo.
613 The eastern and central portions of the island were
669 thus ranged against the western. Tradition has left us no clue to the motive of Mulikihaamea, but, to judge from Finau's subsequent conduct, it seems probable that the rebels were assured of his support before they ventured to strike the blow.[1]

For the events that followed we have the accounts of
127 the missionaries who accompanied the Royalist army; of the apostate Vason, who actually fought on the side of the rebels; and the descriptions given by the natives to Mariner eight years later.

175 Tukuaho fell on the night of the 21st April 1799.
669 The missionaries were scattered throughout the different
797 districts, each living under the protection of some leading
622 chief, who, though willing to protect them during times of peace, was quite unable to restrain his people after war
579 had broken out. With the first news of the rebellion the serfs broke down all restraint, and slaughtered pigs and fowls wholesale to compensate them for their enforced abstinence in times of peace. For the first fortnight there was no general engagement, but there were slight skirmishes which served to embitter the hostility between
266 the two parties. One of the rebels was taken prisoner, and was cut up alive and eaten,—a reversion to cannibal-
177 ism, after the lapse of two centuries, that was owing,
175 doubtless, to the baleful example of Fiji. Ata, the hered-
669 itary chief of Hihifo, ordered the bones of Finau's father
769 to be exhumed, and hung upon a tree in Pangaimotu.
576 This was the grossest insult that could be offered to the

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[1] Vason's 'Four Years in Tongatábu.'

the person of Laufilitonga, the last of the Tui Tonga, the 175
ceremony of the great *inaji* had been discontinued too 634 643
long to be resumed. 732

Mariner, the only historian of this period, left in 1810; 175
and for the events of the next few years we are depen- 177 127
dent upon native sources. In 1811 Finau II. died, and 175
was succeeded by his uncle, Finau Fiji, otherwise known 634
as Tuabaji—a wise and temperate chief, with greater
experience if less natural mental activity than his
nephew. Under his rule intercourse with Haapai was [628]
resumed, for he felt himself strong enough to keep dis-
orderly spirits in check.

Haapai now became the political, as it was the 175
geographical, centre of the kingdom. Tubou-toa had 628
gathered round him the great warriors of Tonga, many 643
of them trained in the arts of war as practised in Fiji. [701]
With him were his brother Tubou-malohi, the nominal [177]
Tui Kanokubolu, and Vuna, the banished chief of Vavau.
To keep his warriors employed, he was obliged to make [578]
an annual descent upon Tongatabu without any decided
success. In 1812, however, Tubou-malohi died, and his
brother became the natural successor, although his mother
had been a woman of inferior rank. He was duly elected [578]
to the post by the chiefs who were under his leadership,
and he lost no time in invading Tongatabu. During the [669]
eight years that remained to him, he succeeded in mak- [642]
ing some at least of the revolted chiefs acknowledge his
authority; but at his death, in 1820, the fortresses were
rebuilt, and the island relapsed again into anarchy.

174 of later date. The Maui stories may indicate a later wave of
immigration. If the Vavau of myth could be identified, at least as far
as the Tongan islands are concerned, with the present Vavau in the
north of the group, it may be the stopping-place of a wave of
Polynesian settlers who found the southern parts of the group already
occupied by earlier Polynesian immigrants, or by non-Polynesian
174 people. It is evident that free communication with Fiji is of old date.
Various relationships with Fiji are manifest. The language shows
177 layers or words which have come by way of Fiji, of which some have
174 undergone the orthodox morphological modification, and some have
[197] not. Possibly the whole question will never be capable of other than
conjectural solution. In concluding this very important note on
Tongan religion I desire to express my obligations to Tangi, the Tui
115 Haa-takalaua and Consort of Queen of Tonga, to Tuivakano, the
Premier, to the chiefs Ata, Ahomee, and Tamale, to the Revs. J.
Havea, J. Taufa, H. Talia, and E. Tubou, all of the Methodist Mission,
to Buleti, Havili, Fatai and many others who have gladly given
such information as they were able about matters of which the
127 recollection is fast fading. I have constantly used also the valuable,
but all too small, collection of material in the late Dr. Moulton's
Magazine, of which a large part was written by the late David Tonga.
128 I desire also to express my obligations to the Rev. R. O. G. Pape,
Chairman of the Methodist Mission, and to Mr. E. W. Gifford, of the
University of California, who visited Tonga under the auspices of the
Bishop Museum, Honolulu, from August 1920, to May, 1921.

19: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

AN EXPERIMENT IN TONGAN HISTORY.

By E. E. V. Collocott, M.A., B.D.

TUI TONGA LISTS.

127 ANY attempt to reconstruct the past of Tonga, and to assign approximate periods for the few events that dimly emerge from the mists of forgetfulness, will almost of necessity be based on the list of Tui Tonga, kings of Tonga. At the outset a difficulty presents itself; there are different lists with varying numbers of generations.

Laufilitonga, the last Tui Tonga, died in 1865; before
173 him there were, according to various accounts, from thirty-
175 three to thirty-eight holders of this august title. Edward
643 Tregear, on page 670 of his Maori-Polynesian Comparative
Dictionary, prints a list of thirty-four Tui Tonga, excluding the first name, Kohai, who belongs to an earlier regime. Mr. Tregear's authority is the late Rev. Dr. Moulton, whose opinion on all matters relating to Tonga is of the greatest weight; but a list of thirty-eight names seems to me not improbable, and this paper will assume the substantial correctness of the following list:—

1. Ahoeitu, c. 950.
2. Lolofakangalo.
3. Fanga-one-one.
4. Lihau
5. Kofutu.
6. Kaloa.
7. Mauhau.
8. Apuanea.
9. Afulunga.
10. Momo.
11. Tui-ta-tui, c. 1200.
12. Talaatama.
13. Tui-tonga-nui.
14. Tala-i-haa-pepe.
15. Talakai-faiki, c. 1250.
16. Tala-fabite.
17. Tui-tonga-maakatoe.
18. Tuitonga-puipui.
19. Havea I.
20. Tatafu-eiki-mei-mua.
21. Lomi-ae-tupua.
22. Havea II.
23. Takalaua, c. 1450.
24. Kau-ulu-fonua-fekai, c. 1470.
25. Vaka-fuhu.
26. Puipui-fatu.
27. Kau-ulu-fonua II.
28. Tapuoji.
29. Uluaki-mata I (Telea).
30. Fatafehi, 1643.
31. Uluaki-mata II.
32. Tuipulotu I.
33. Fakanaanaa.
34. Tuipulotu II.
35. Pau 1777 (met Cook).
36. Mau-lupe-kotofa.
37. Fatafehi Fua-nunui-ava.
38. Laufilitonga, died 1865.

[p. 166]

This list differs from Dr. Moulton's in regarding as 173
indicating separate individuals several names which he re- 175
gards as alternative designations of the one king. It is 643
the list favoured by the Roman Catholic missionaries, who, 127
having secured the last Tui Tonga as a convert, were prob- [197]
ably in a better position to obtain information about this ancient line than were their Methodist contemporaries.

It agrees in the number of generations, though not in all details, with a list published by the late King of Tonga, George Tubou II.[1] It is also, I believe, the list favoured by Mr. E. W. Gifford, who visited Tonga in connection with the Bayard Dominick expeditions of the Bishop Museum, and to whom I take this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging my obligations in this and in other matters. It agrees sufficiently closely, moreover, with what seems to be the most generally accepted number of generations in the Malietoa line in Samoa, which provides one of the most important external points of contact.

CHRONOLOGY.

Several dates are known with precision. Laufilitonga 175
closed the series in 1865. In 1777 Captain Cook met Pau, 643
whom he estimated to be about 40 years old. Pau is the 173
thirty-fifth, Laufilitonga the thirty-eighth, and consequently the reigns of four kings covered something over 88 years, and the average reign cannot be less than 22 years. Captain Cook enables us also to fix with a fair degree of probability the date of an earlier king. He found that the remembrance of Tasman's visit in 1643 was still preserved, and was informed that Pau, or Paulaho, was the fifth king since Tasman's arrival. Cook calls the kings the Futtafaihe (now spelt Fatafehi), and says: "The Futtafaihes (Poulaho being only an addition to distinguish the king from the rest of his family) have reigned in a direct line for at least one hundred and thirty-five years. Upon inquiring whether any account had been preserved amongst them of the arrival of Tasman's ships... by way of informing us how long ago this had happened, they told us the name of the Futtafaihe who was then king, and of those who had succeeded down to

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[1] In the March, 1916, number of "Koe Fanogonogo," a little paper published by the Methodist Mission, which survived only a few issues. [113]

organisation, the sister of the Tui Tonga is of superior rank 644
to the king himself. She is called the Tui Tonga Fefine, Female Tui Tonga, and would be normally the eldest daughter of the most chiefly wife of a Tui Tonga. Her dignity was held till death, so that, although I have called her the sister of the Tui Tonga, she might as a matter of fact belong to a different generation.

Of the sons of a Tui Tonga the one to succeed to the [643]
kingship would naturally be the eldest son of the highest chieftainess amongst his wives. Extant genealogies to not [173]
extend far enough to show very ancient practice. The Tui Tonga Fefine would be tabu to every Tongan man, and there is no direct evidence as to whom she actually did marry before the seventeenth century.[19]

Similarly, neither the genealogies nor tradition indicate [173]
who, in more remote times, was the lady, if any were specially reserved for the honour, who should bear a successor to the Tui Tonga. It is clear, however, that this privilege became the prerogative of the daughter of the Tui Haa-Takalaua, and later passed to a newer house, that of the Tui Kano-kupolu.

It will be convenient at this point to give a list of the 173
Tui Haa-Takalaua:— 643

1. Mounga-motua (brother of Kau-ulu-fonua fekai), c. 1470.
2. Taneki-tonga.
3. Vaea-ma-toka.
4. Jiu-langa-po.
5. Vaka-lahi-mohe-uli.
6. Mounga-tonga (who was the father of Ngata, the first Tui Kano-kupolu).
7. Fotofili c. 1650.
8. Vaea.
9. Moe-aki-ola.
10. Kafoa.

There is not complete unanimity in lists of the Tui Haa-Takalaua, but the discrepancies occur in the later generations, when the importance of the house had somewhat declined. [127]

TAPUOJI.

In the first half of the seventeenth century we find the 644
first authentic account of the marriage of a Tui Tonga Fefine, to a Fijian chief named Tapuoji, the Tui Lakepa 175

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[19] A story of Tala-kai-faiki's incest with the Tui Tonga Fefine is probably of no importance in this connection.

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

New Zealand Geographer

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MODERN TONGA[1]

C. G. F. SIMKIN

THE KINGDOM OF TONGA is a small and unimportant 101
corner of the Pacific. It has barely enough people for a medium
sized town, not nearly enough land for an average New Zealand
county, and no physical resources apart from a soil and climate favourable
to sub-tropical agriculture. Commercially it is of slight consequence, [648]
even to its immediate neighbours; politically it relies upon
Britain for its actual independence.

But if Tonga is negligible as a nation, its social arrangements deserve 182
notice as being both interesting in themselves and suggestive for colonial 642
reform: for the Tongans are the only Pacific people to retain
real self-government, and they have used it to develop a society which
is both reasonably adjusted to the modern world and satisfactorily
adapted to their own needs. This means that they have solved one of
the basic problems confronting colonial policy. On the political side [648]
the solution has taken the form of an independent Kingdom, protected
by a Great Power, but effectively controlled by its own traditional
leaders, who have already made it into a modern state, and are now
developing it into a constitutional democracy. On the economic side 182
it rests upon a land system which excludes plantations and proletariat [423]
and gives every man a farm of his own. This simple but admirable
institution prevents unemployment, promotes economic equality and
independence, cushions the country against slumps, and together with

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[1] This statement is the outcome of a few months' military service in Tonga during which spare [114]
time was spent collecting information about its people and institutions, mainly from official
papers, from interviews with heads of departments, and from discussions with Tongan and [127]
European residents. Acknowledgement is gratefully made of the debt due to all who gave so [124]
freely of their own ample knowledge of the Kingdom, more particularly to the patient and very
helpful assistance of Mr. Nicholson, the Treasurer, Mr. Brownlees, the Secretary to the Government,
Mr. Cottrell-Dormer, the Director of Agriculture, the Rev. Mr. Gribble, the Acting-Director
of Education, Dr. Brown, the Chief Medical Officer, and the Rev. Mr. Page, Dean
of the Tongan Missions.

[p. 99]

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

121 THIS small list of Tongan words is intended to supplement
the well known dictionary of Dr. Shirley Baker,
128 which is founded on that of the Rev. S. Rabone. This is
referred to in this list as Baker. The French and Tongan
Dictionary of the Marist Mission is referred to as Dictionnaire
128 Toga-Français. No attempt has been made to include
here all words which occur in the latter dictionary but not
127 in Baker, though some few words which have been
encountered casually in other places, but which are included
in the Marists' publication, are inserted here, sometimes
128 with meanings taken from their book. A few words which
occur in Baker have also been included when it has seemed
121 possible to add something to his explanation. It is not to be
114 presumed that this supplementary list taken in conjunction
with the two dictionaries referred to form an adequate Tongan
121 dictionary. This is merely an attempt to contribute
127 my very small quota to the task of the future dictionary-maker
by putting in permanent and easily accessible form
words which I have from time to time encountered in conversation,
and in the reading of Tongan poems and tales,
some of them in manuscript and some printed, mainly in
Koe Makasini, the Tongan magazine founded, and long
127 edited, by the late Rev. Dr. Moulton. Much of the manuscript
material to which I have had access was collected by
him.

127 Although some words are included from easily accessible
128 printed sources, for example, Mr. E. W. Gifford's *Tongan
Myths and Tales* (Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu, 1924),
and a very few from the masterpiece of Tongan composition,
Dr. Moulton's Translation of the Bible, no effort has been
made to include all words from sources which are in no
danger of disappearing or being overlooked. The few words
from the Bible are such as have casually come under my
notice. If the highly desirable task of compiling a satisfactory
and adequate dictionary of the Tongan language be
ever undertaken there is little likelihood of words printed in
the Bible, or in Hymn Books, being missed.

128 Too frequently I have had to admit my ignorance of the
meaning of a word. This illustrates one of the disadvantages
of compiling, or completing, such a list at a distance from
the country where the language is spoken. Where I have
marked a word as of uncertain meaning it is not to be presumed
that the word is rare. "Meaning uncertain" is

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

128 all the specific words used in counting and measuring various classes of objects, will, I hope, illustrate the principles sufficiently clearly.

A few proverbial expressions also are added. My friend
[114] the Rev. John Havea and myself collaborated in a collection
of proverbs which was published by the Bishop Museum
(*Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans*, Honolulu, 1922), and
the proverbs appended here are some that have come to
hand since the publication of that paper. As in the larger
collection I have translated each Tongan phrase literally,
114 and added some explanation of its use. My obligations to
Tongan friends are innumerable, especially to the Revs.
John Havea and John Kuli, Miss Alice Ahio, Hon. William
Tungi, and to several of the youths who were my pupils at
127 the Tubou College, Nafualu. A number of published works
have been consulted, but especial use has been made of
113 Edward Tregear's *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*
(Wellington, 1891). Hazelwood's *A Fijian and English
and an English and Fijian Dictionary* (Waterlow and Sons,
Ltd., London, 1914), Pratt's *Grammar and Dictionary of
the Samoan Language* (Samoa, 1911), the Marist Mission's
Dictionnaire Toga-Français et Français-Toga-Anglais
(Paris, 1890), and the Rev. Shirley W. Baker's *An English
and Tongan Vocabulary, also a Tongan and English Vocabulary*
(Auckland, 1897). There are a few references in the
vocabulary to a paper on *Tongan Astronomy and Calendar*
114 (Bishop Museum Press, Hawaii, 1922). A visit to Niua
Fo'ou in 1922 gave me a few words of the dialect of that
197 island, which differs somewhat from that spoken in the
128 main portion of the Tongan Group. These have been
included in the present vocabulary. Some brief notes on this
113 dialect appeared in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*,
Vol. XXXI., No. 4.

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539 19. *Kuo vala 'ae fonua.* The land is clad, i.e., protected, not exposed to its enemies.

195 20. *Lelei 'ae fale kae kovi 'ae bou.* The house is good but the posts are bad. This indicates a person whose body is well-built, but whose legs are thin.

21. *Tau 'i tu'a faga.* Reached land outside the anchorage. This is used of unsuccessful effort, as of a boat which has not been able to make the anchorage, but has had to come in wherever she could.

22. *Tau fegogo fai fua ki 'ulu.* Struggle leaning on, helping each other, direct the course ahead. This indicates persons struggling along, helping each other with an already great burden, but going on always to greater things.

23. *To'a-ki-kaume'a.* Brave-for-friend. Courage on behalf of a friend. In connection with this expression is told the devotion of the daughter of cannibal parents who sacrificed herself to save a girl friend.

114 PHASES OF THE MOON IN TONGA.

Some time ago I wrote a short paper containing all that I had
then been able to gather concerning the naming of the days and
114 nights.* Since then a Tongan manuscript has come into my hands
127 with some fresh, and some confirmatory, material bearing on this
[128] subject. I translate it for comparison with my earlier paper:—

821 ***Matakila***, when the moon begins to appear, and is said to be seen by gods and only afterwards by men.

Faka-ua and so on to ***Faka-valu***. There is no *Faka-hiva*, or higher number, but the moon is then called *Tu'u-efiafi*, risen at evening, or in the afternoon.

Bunifaga, when the moon is bigger than half.

Fuofuavale, almost full moon.

Katoa-to, full moon, but setting (before day-break?).

Fakatau-ata, setting after dawn *(ata)*.

Mama-lou, the moon sets just before sun-rise, and rays are seen both of the moon which has just disappeared, and of the sun which is about to appear.

Feahouki, the moon has risen whilst it is still day, and is in the sky when the next day breaks.

Uluaki ahoia, the moon is still in the sky when the day breaks.

Tafaleu, when the flattening of one side of the moon's disc becomes apparent.

Ma'una, the moon is still in the sky when day has broken, but is past the full. This is a night that is noted by the bonito-fishers.

Matofitele, the waning of the moon is very apparent.

Lekeleka, the moon is very small.

Lekeleka mate, the moon has almost disappeared.

The writer adds a note that there are 14 names for the phases of the moon.

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[113] * *Tongan Astronomy and Calendar* (Occasional Papers, B.P. Bishop Museum, Vol. 8, No. 4, Honolulu, 1922).

The existence in Haapai of inanimate representatives 778
of gods, shaped in human form, is established by the 532
documentary evidence of the missionary, John Williams, 127
who visited the Tongan group in 1830. At that time, Haapai 631
was subject to the authority of Taufaahau, who afterward 643
became ruler of the whole Tongan group with the title
of George Tupou I. Taufaahau, according to Williams,[6] 643
had despised the Tongan system of worship from his youth 797
and, coming in contact with missionaries during a visit
to Tongatabu, he resolved to abandon the gods of his
ancestors. On his return to Haapai, he "commenced the [798]
work of destruction upon the gods and maraes." Williams 114
had come to Tonga after work carried on in the Society 346
and Cook groups and by "marae" he meant the Tongan
house temple. His misuse of the term "marae" must not
be regarded as evidence that the *marae* form of religious
structure was present in Tonga. An opposing faction 798
determined to celebrate a religious festival in honour of 643
the gods whom Taufaahau was desecrating. Williams[7]
wrote as follows:

> "Taufaahau, resolving to anticipate and neutralize this movement, [778]
> drove a large herd of pigs into the sacred enclosure, converted a
> most beautiful little temple, which stood in the middle of it, into
> a sleeping appartment for his female servants, and suspended the
> gods by the neck to the rafters of the house in which they had
> been adored. The idolators, ignorant of his proceedings, came, with 798
> great ceremony, attended by their priests, to present their offerings, 778
> and found, to their astonishment, a number of voracious pigs, ready
> to devour anything they had to offer; and the gods, disrobed of
> their apparel, hanging in degradation, like so many condemned
> criminals."

The worshippers retired in indignation but evidently
did not attempt to cut down the gods from their elevated
position. Taufaahau conducted Williams to the building 798
and Williams[8] continues: 643

> "On observing five goddesses hanging by the neck, I requested 778
> this intrepid chief to give me one of them, which he immediately
> cut down and presented to me. I have brought it to England, with
> the very string around its neck by which it was hung."

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[6] Williams, John, *Missionary Enterprises*, London, 1839, p. 273. [113]

[7] Williams, *Opt. cit.*, pp. 273, 274.

[8] Williams, *Opt. cit.*, p. 275.

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9

778 Fortunately Williams[9] reproduced a drawing of the
127 goddess. A copy, with the position reversed purposely for
[128] comparison with other figures to follow, is shown in fig. 1.

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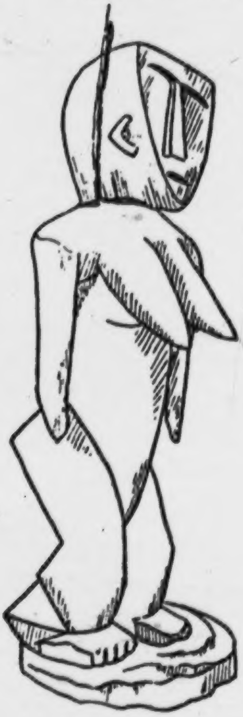

FIG. 1.

Tongan image, after Williams.

532 The figure has characteristic features which readily
[171] distinguish it from wooden images from other parts of Polynesia. The head is poorly drawn but it is evident that the brows, nose, mouth, and ears are clearly defined. The outstanding features, however, are the large pointed breasts, the position of the arms which are free from the body with somewhat pointed hands hanging straight down, and the exaggerated back-projection of an enlarged gluteal region. The slightly flexed legs are short in proportion to the thighs and the feet are notched to represent toes. The figure stands on a base cut out of the same block of wood.

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[9] Williams, *Opt. cit.*, p. 274.

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The image evidently did not pass into the museum of the London Missionary Society in London for it is not amongst the collection handed over by the London Missionary Society to the British Museum. Williams stated that he prized it very highly so he probably kept it for some time until at last it went into circulation along channels which unfortunately did not lead to the British Museum. My attention was drawn to the Williams image by Captain A. W. F. Fuller who has a similar figure in his own wonderful collection. Through his courtesy, I am enabled to reproduce it here in fig. 2. These old authentic artifacts are so valuable for comparative studies that I deem it advisable, when possible, to show views of the front, back, and right side of all figures as in the method of picturing stone adzes.

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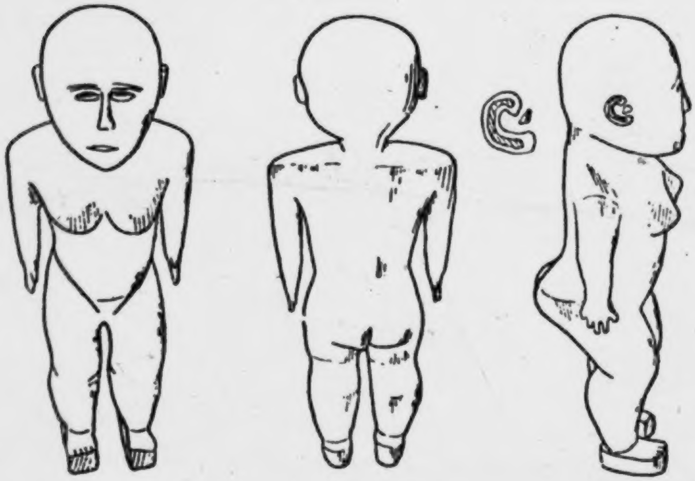

FIG. 2.

Tongan Image in Fuller Collection.

Made of ironwood, well polished. Height, 372 mm.; head-width, 65 mm.; shoulder-width, 144 mm.; width between hand extremities, 119 mm. Head rounded, with well-marked brows, excised elliptical eyes, good nose, and excised ellipital mouth; projecting ears with groove along helix and separate knob to represent tragus. Shoulders wide; arms free from body, extended downward with no flexion at elbows; hands thinned down with thumbs to the front. Breasts prominent and showing female sex. Abdomen not protruding, no navel, and gluteal region prominent. Thigh long and flexed; leg short with well developed calf.

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532 Comparison with the Williams figure shows a similar
attitude of the arms and hands with prominence of the
532 breasts and gluteal region. The Williams figure shows a
114 flat face, flat head, and longer breasts, but these details
were probably exaggerated by the English artist who did
the drawing. The absence of eyes may also be due to
the artist.

● 127 Two images, similar to the Fuller image, are in the private collection of Mr. Oldman of London. In a discussion amongst Captain Fuller, Mr. Oldman, and myself, we came to the unanimous conclusion that the images in their collections must have come from the same locality as the Williams image. A strong possibility exists that one of the Oldman images is the one that Williams brought back to London.

532 Four smaller images cut out of whale-ivory are in
127 the British Museum, and the largest of them was so
realistically carved that, at first, I thought it was the
work of some European sailor. A comparison with the
Fuller image, however, showed that the technique was so
similar that there could be little doubt that the two came
from the same locality. Three of the ivory images are
labelled with the museum series of "Tah." which was
applied to accessions from Tahiti, but the museum authorities
532 place no reliance on the attribution to that locality. The
largest of the images is shown in fig. 3.

Except for the details of the ear, the description of the ivory figure is practically word for word identical with that of the Fuller image. The other three smaller ivory figures are shown in figs. 4, 5, and 6. All three have a vertical hole drilled through the back of the head evidently for suspension.

Fig. 6 differs from the previous two, not only in size
but in technical details. The downward extension of the
arms and the hole through the back of the head link it
[127] up with them. The different numbering shows that it
was not procured at the same time as the others.

[127] The available data for Tonga here presented consist of three larger images in wood, which may include the Williams image, and four smaller figures in whale-ivory. In all of them, a similar position of the arms prevails.

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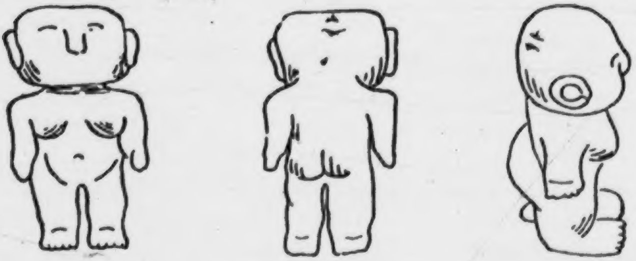

FIG. 5—Ivory image, British Museum (Tah. 134). Height, 34 mm.; shoulder-width, 17 mm. Shows all characteristics of fig. 4 except for raised bands around limbs. Head somewhat straight in transverse line but rounded off from before back.

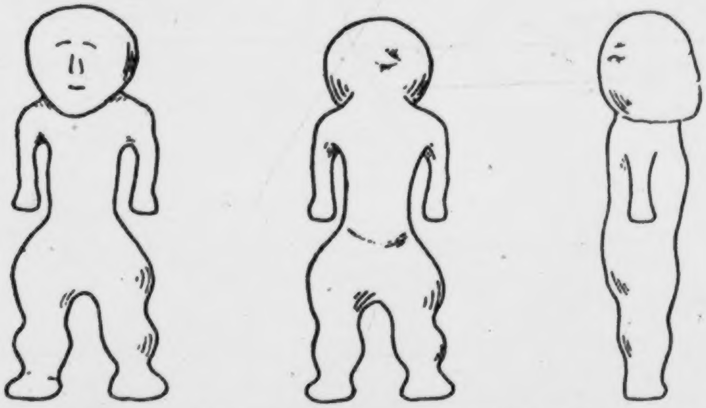

FIG. 6—Ivory image, British Museum (No. 2323). Height, 55 mm.; shoulder-width, 20 mm.; outer thigh width, 19 mm. Face somewhat indistinct; no ears, no breasts, no toes, fingers not formed; no projection of gluteal region; raised band around legs.

All, except fig. 6, are female with prominent breasts and
532 gluteal regions. The definite documentary evidence by
Williams and the lack of references to human form in
● 127 other parts of the Tongan group indicate that female figures
with projecting breasts and gluteal region and downward
extended arms with thumbs to the front, are to be associated
with the Haapai group of the Tongan islands.

to England by King Malietoa was made locally in Samoa T S
by an inferior artist who was either Tongan or someone 532
who was acquainted with the general appearance of the 171
Haapai images.

CARVED WEAPONS OF WESTERN POLYNESIA. T

The use of birds, fish, and human figures as motives 532
in the carvings on certain types of weapons has been 411
definitely established for Tonga. While the human motives vary in form, many of the figures with wide shoulders and dependent arms hanging free from the body suggest the characteristic attitude of the Hapaai images already described. As these figures are small and on the flat, the prominent breasts and gluteal region of the images could not be included. Their presence in so many weapons indicates that the characteristic image-attitude had become an established motive in Tonga. It might well be inferred that the human-motives on the clubs originated with the carving-school responsible for the images in Hapaai. Investigations as to the distribution of club-types in the Tongan group itself might shed light on the subject.

The presence of zoomorphs and anthropomorphs in T
the carvings on Samoan clubs rests on the sole authority S
of Churchill.[11] The human figures recorded by him were 532
confined to two clubs in the University of Pennsylvania 411
Museum. I[12] have already expressed my opinion that, from 171
the appearance of the figures and the clubs, the clubs were 114
not Samoan but Tongan. Since then I have had the opportunity of personally examining the two clubs and I have now no doubt that both the clubs are Tongan. In fact, the museum catalogue definitely attributed one of them to Tonga, which reference Churchill must have overlooked.
The one positive statement that human figures occur in T
Samoan club-carvings may thus be dismissed. Out of a S
large number of carved Samoan clubs examined by me 532
in European and American museums, not one had zoomorphs 411
or anthropomorphs as motives. My experience is shared 171
by Messrs. Fuller and Oldman whose practical experience 127

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[11] Churchill, W., *Club Types of Nuclear Polynesia*, Carnegie Institute, Washington, 1917. T

[12] Te Rangi Hiroa, Samoan Material Culture, *Bishop Museum* S [113]
Bulletin, 75, Honolulu, 1930, p. 611. [113]

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in the handling of clubs from Tonga, Samoa, and Fiji must add the greatest weight to their opinions. If the human-figure motive had been adopted by Samoan craftsmen, we would expect to find its presence in some, at least, of the numerous authenticated Samoan clubs in various museums and private collections. The absence of the human-motive is evidence that it never entered Samoan carving-technique as applied to weapons. This lack of a human-motive in Samoan club-carvings may be taken as evidence in support of the argument that the Samoan image is due to Tongan influence.

IMAGES FROM CENTRAL POLYNESIA.

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In order to stress the importance of the position of the arms and some technical details in the Tongan images, a few images from central Polynesia are here figured for comparative purposes. By central Polynesia, I mean the Society islands, but I would also include for the purposes of this study, the Cook and Austral groups. The examples selected are the smaller images in wood as such are more comparable with the Tongan material.

IMAGES FROM TAHITI.

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In Tahiti, the inanimate representatives of the gods were termed *to'o* (cf. Maori, *toko)* and were usually made of a twined sennit covering over a wooden core with outer decorations of red feathers. The human form was rarely used. Wooden images, termed *ti'i* (Cf. Rarotongan, *tiki),* were used by sorcerers to represent their familiar spirits. These were of both sexes, and an example of each is here figured as, from size and material, the technique is more readily comparable with the Tongan images. See figures 8 and 9.

The Tahitian figures are not so realistic as the Tongan, and their main differences consist in the treatment of the ears, the square shoulders with the straight edge across the back, the position of the arms, the nipples instead of breasts in the female figure, the projecting abdomen and navel, and the normal treatment of the gluteal region. It is evident in the two Tahitian figures that sex is indicated by the inclusion of the sex-organ, and the female breasts are not any more developed than the male. In the Tongan figures, the sex is indicated by the size of the breasts and the sex-organ is ignored.

(To be continued.)

[pp. 97-152 not processed]

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IMAGE FROM THE AUSTRAL ISLANDS.

The large wooden image from Rurutu, with hollow back and a number of smaller figures distributed over it, has been described by both Williams[13] and Ellis.[14] A stone

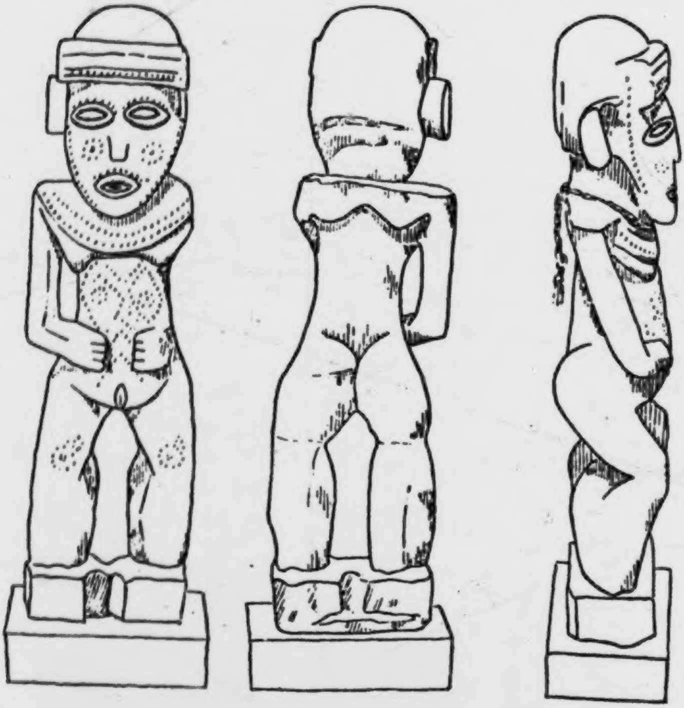

FIG. 12.

Raivavae Image, British Museum (54/12-29/120).

Height, 620 mm.; shoulder-width, 153 mm. High head with projecting horizontal band above forehead; large projecting solid ear, one broken off; elliptical eye-sockets with raised eyeballs, small nose, and elliptical mouth. Square shoulders with straight edge across back and triangular projections below probably representing shoulder blades; upper arms free of body but one broken off; forearms flexed with hands resting on abdomen. Upper chest with curved projection and triangular breasts below. Abdomen slightly protruding, no navel, incised female sex-organ, and gluteal region not excessively developed. Thighs flexed and abnormally large lower limbs fused with base directly. Incised carving patterns on face, body, and legs.

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[13] Williams, *Opt. cit.*

[14] Ellis, W., *Polynesian Researches*, 2 vols., London, 1829; vol. 2, frontispiece and p. 220.

(113)

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9

532 image with upraised arms, attributed to Raivavae, rests
171 in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford. A third image in wood
127 and of suitable size for comparative purposes was presented
to the British Museum by Sir George Grey in 1854. It is
attributed to High island (Raivavae) and is shown in fig. 12.

532 The Raivavae image shows elaboration in the use of
raised parts on the forehead, back, and chest, and of
171 simple ornamental patterns of small incised triangles. The use of the small-triangle motive is part of a local technique employed extensively in the carving of the characteristic paddles from this region. The head-form and the dependent triangular breasts are also characteristic of the female figures on the proximal ends of these paddles. Disregarding such local elaborations, it is seen that Raivavae resembles Tahiti and the Cook islands in the use of the straight edge across the back at the shoulder-level, the flexed forearm resting on the abdomen, and the protruding abdomen. It differs from the other two regions in the absence of the navel.

SUMMARY OF CENTRAL-POLYNESIAN TECHNIQUE.

A comparison of the selected images from the islands of the Society, Cook, and Austral islands, in which small wooden images were made, shows that considerable local variation had developed with regard to the shape of the head and details in the formation of the eyes, nose, mouth, and ears. Variation also extended to other anatomical parts. In spite of local elaborations, a general posture-pattern was shared by the three groups. Apart from the upright head and body, posture is determined by the position of the lower and upper limbs. The lower limbs are flexed in the three regions but this attitude is widely spread throughout Polynesia and exists in the images from western Polynesia. In the three regions, the upper limbs are flexed with the hands resting on a projecting abdomen to which a protruding navel is added except in Raivavae. A constant technical feature in the three regions is the presence of the straight edge across the back at the shoulder-level. It is the posture-pattern as influenced by the position of the upper limbs that constitutes an important difference with the posture-pattern of the Tongan images. The protruding abdomen and navel and the straight edge across the back are also absent from the Tongan images.

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DIAGNOSTIC IMPORTANCE OF POSTURE PATTERNS.

A puzzling image in the British Museum brings up 127
the importance of establishing patterns of technique and
general posture in the images from different regions not
only to shed light on local culture-variation but for the
purpose of diagnozing the locality of doubtful objects. The
doubtful image which puzzled me so much that I forgot
to take measurements and to photograph the back view,
is shown in fig. 13.

The museum number indicated that the locality of the
image was Tahiti, but the museum authorities could not
vouch for its reliability. The textile-material of the cap 532
was formed of coconut-husk fibre warps radiating out from 171
a central point and fixed in position with single fibre wefts
worked with a continuous single-pair twine to the circum- 286
ference. The shell-beads were slipped on over the warps
at regular intervals. The neck and waist-strips were made
with a similar single-pair twine technique but the warps
were parallel instead of radiating. Both the technique and
the resulting material were characteristic of Tonga and
I do not know of any other part of Polynesia where a
similar specialized technique was used. The textile tech-
nique associated with the image thus indicated Tonga as
a locality to be considered. The image, however, did not 532
conform to the technique of the established Tongan images. 171

As regards the image itself, the presence of flexed forearms with the hands resting on the body, the protruding abdomen and navel, and the straight edge across the back, indicated that it conformed to the central-Polynesian pattern and not to that of western Polynesia. The forearms by their acute flexion raised the hands to the level of the chest instead of the usual abdominal site but this slight change was but a variation of the usual pose.

Of the various islands of central Polynesia, Rarotonga was eliminated by the absence of the squat form and the specialized eyes and mouth, whilst Raivavae was also eliminated by difference in general form, the lack of the specialized triangular breasts, and the absence of the triangular carving-motive as ornamentation. Between Tahiti and Aitutaki, the eye-technique favoured Tahiti but the adherence of the upper arm to the body, the acute the round lace-caps worn at one time by old ladies of European stock. If the missionaries' wives wore such caps,* the model for the head-gear of the goddess is found. Someone in central Polynesia, possessed of some Tongan material and a sense of humour, simply tacked a piece of the Tongan circular textile on to the head of a rejected Aitutaki image. The neck- and waist-additions followed as a matter of course, and so a puzzling composite object was produced. T. 532 171

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

This paper forms an introduction to the study of the numerous inanimate representatives of the Polynesian gods which escaped destruction and found refuge in various museums. Of these sanctuaries, the British Museum houses an enviable number. I have to thank Captain T. A. Joyce and his staff in the Ethnographical Department of the British Museum for facilitating in every possible way my examination of the rich material in that wonderful but woefully overcrowded institution. My thanks are also due to Captain A. W. F. Fuller and Mr. Oldman for access to their private collections and for drawing my attention to the Tongan images. The line drawings in this paper were prepared from photographs taken with a Leica camera by myself and thrown on to the drawing paper with a Leica enlarger. The enlarging apparatus and the employment of Mr. R. W. Foster of Yale University to make the drawings are due to the courtesy of the American Research Council in awarding me a Grant-in-Aid for the study of the material culture of central Polynesia. T 121 127 T 127 T 128 126 T 128 122

CONCLUSIONS.

Wooden images, though not common in western Polynesia, were made at Haapai in the Tongan group and the solitary specimen from Samoa was probably due to Tongan T S 532 171

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*In the early years of the eighteen hundreds, say the 'twenties and 'thirties, the caps worn covered the head, and the sides were continued in broad bands more or less long coming from behind the ears over the shoulders and down the breasts. See portraits of missionaries' wives in W. Morley, *History of Methodism in New Zealand;* Mrs. W. White, p. 43; Mrs. N. Turner, p. 43; Mrs. J. Hobbs, p. 52; Mrs. C. Creed, p. 75; Mrs. T. Buddle, p. 76. In the 'seventies and 'eighties some caps at any rate were quite small things sitting on the top of the head only, and with no pendent ornaments.—ED. T [113]

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ADDITIONAL WOODEN IMAGES FROM TONGA

BY TE RANGI HIROA,
Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii.

114 IN a previous paper,[1] describing wooden and whale-ivory
237 images from Tonga, reference was made to two wooden
images in the private collection of Mr. W. O. Oldman of
121 London. After the paper appeared, Mr. Oldman sent me
photographs and details of the two images mentioned and
237 of a third unique image that had come into his possession
after I saw the other two in 1933. Just as this paper was
being written, Mr. Oldman sent me a further photograph,
of a whale-ivory image that is also in his collection.
Mr. Oldman has kindly given me permission to reproduce
the four additional images and so make the series of Tongan
images up to date for the information of students of
Polynesian culture.

532 Two of the wooden images and the ivory one are in
237 the erect position with pendent arms, but the third wooden
image shows a unique departure in being carved in the
sitting position. The taller of the erect images is shown
in fig. 1.

The resemblance of fig. 1 to the figure in Williams'
work[2] is so great that they seem to represent the same
643 image. The presence of the cord around the neck in both
figures gives further support, but all doubt as to identity
798 is dispelled by the written inscription on the back which
532 reads as follows: "Goddess of Lifuga hung by Tafahau
on embracing Christianity. Hapai, July 1830."

Lifuga (Lifuka) is the principal island in the Haapai group where in 1830 John Williams met Tafaahau who later became George Tubou I of Tonga. It was on that occasion that Tafaahau[3] cut down one of the five goddesses suspended by their necks from the roof of a house and

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[1] Te Rangi Hiroa, "Material Representation of Tongan and Samoan Gods"; *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 44, p. 12, 1935.

[2] Williams, John, *Missionary Enterprises*, London, 1839, p. 274 (also *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 44, p. 10).

[3] Williams, John, *Missionary Enterprises*, London, 1839, p. 275.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 76]

411 that these clubs illustrate types that were used in Lifuka, the locality with which the images are definitely associated. 531 See fig. 5, *b* and *c*.

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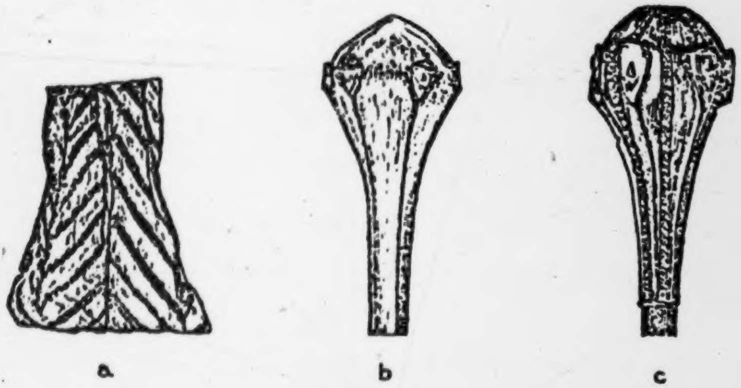

FIG. 5.

TONGAN CLOTH AND CLUBS

a—Tongan bark cloth: period of 1830 before foreign influence affected native patterns; oblique parallel lines forming long chevrons. b—Tongan club with expanded head showing bosses in form of face and nose, similar to those of wooden images in figs. 1 and 2. *c*—Tongan club similar to *b* but with raised zig-zag vertical lines between the bosses.

TYPE-SPECIMENS

127 Anthropology in the branch of material culture has certain advantages and disadvantages. The advantages exist in the fact that artifacts now no longer obtainable in their country of origin have been preserved in museums and private collections. The disadvantages are that many valuable specimens, after passing through various hands, have become inaccurately labelled as to locality and, furthermore, that owing to their not having been described in anthropological literature, they are inaccessible to the student who cannot make a tour of the world's museums and private collections.

In order to promote accurate study by students and correct identification by museum authorities, it is necessary in the cause of science that really old artifacts, of which the history and locality have been accurately determined, should be recorded in the literature as type-specimens. Once type-specimens have been definitely established by authentic 121 history or the careful analysis of the technique by an expert, such type-specimens can be used to determine the locality of other specimens of a similar appearance but concerning which the history and attributed locality are uncertain. There is as much scientific need for specimens in ethnological museums to be accurately labelled as to locality as there is in museums of natural history.

So far I have described nine specimens of Tongan 532 images, four in wood and five in whale-ivory. The four 121 whale-ivory images already described[4] are in the British Museum (Tah. 133, Tah. 134, Tah. 135, and 2323). Their history beyond their actual acquisition by the Museum is unknown. From the catalogue numbers commencing with Tah., it is evident that three of them were attributed to Tahiti, but owing to lack of information the British Museum authorities would not vouch for this locality. The attribution of the images to Tonga rests on the detailed resemblance of the largest of them (Tah. 133) to a wooden image in the A. W. F. Fuller collection (no. 791), which also has been described.[5] The diagnosis was first made by Captain Fuller himself, and my examination supports his diagnosis. The attribution of Captain Fuller's specimen (no. 791) was based by him on its resemblance to the specimen in Mr. Oldman's collection (no. 530) and the opinions of both Mr. Oldman and Captain Fuller that the Oldman specimen was identical with the image figured by Williams.[6] The piece of braid around the neck and the inscription pasted on the back of the image, establish their identity without any doubt to my mind. Here we have a specimen whose history and locality are sufficiently proved to establish it as the type-specimen. From the type-specimen, number 530 in the Oldman collection, the locality of Tonga given to the other erect image in the Oldman collection (no. 531), the wooden image in the Fuller collection (no. 791), and the Oldman ivory image (no. 533), can be definitely accepted. The Fuller image varies in certain details as to eyes, ears, and the rounding of the shoulders, being more realistic

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[4] Te Rangi Hiroa, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 14.

[5] Te Rangi Hiroa, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[6] John Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

27: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1937 OU9 Tonga OU9

532 than the Oldman type. The Fuller image may be regarded 127 as a variation and by it the largest whale-ivory image in the British Museum (Tah. 133) may be definitely assigned to Tonga and not to Tahiti as its number would infer. From this specimen, the other three variations of whale-ivory images in the British Museum may also be attributed to Tonga. The localities of seven images with indefinite histories have thus been determined, primarily from the Oldman type specimen (530) of which the history and locality may be accepted as proved.

The history of the sitting image, while not so connected as that of the standing type, is supported by the specimen of bark cloth, the description written in missionary phraseology, and certain structural details. No doubt can be entertained as to the locality being Tonga and the specimen may be regarded not only as a type but also as a unique.

532 As a record, the nine Tongan images so far known are given in the following table with their height and shoulder width in inches:

Collection	Material	Height inches	Shoulder width inches
W. O. Oldman, 530	wood	14.5	4.75
W. O. Oldman, 531	wood	13.0	6.25
A. W. F. Fuller, 791	wood	14.6	5.55
W. O. Oldman, 532	wood (sitting)	7.5	—
W. O. Oldman, 533	ivory	5.0	2.37
British Museum, Tah. 133	ivory	4.75	1.85
British Museum, Tah. 135	ivory	1.4	0.75
British Museum, Tah. 134	ivory	1.35	0.7
British Museum, 2323	ivory	2.2	0.8

If the four wooden images so far described formed part of the collection of five seen by John Williams,[7] it is intriguing to speculate as to whether or not the one remaining specimen also found its way into the safe haven of a collection. If anyone recognizes it from the illustrations in this paper, I would be obliged if the owner or discoverer would inform me.

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[7] John Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

28: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1941 OU9 Tonga OU9

534 The reeds may be regularly graduated in length from the
171 longest to the shortest or they may be arranged in a sequence
in which the lower ends present an irregular appearance.

Though Tonga is the only Polynesian group figured by
534 Edge-Partington, pan-pipes were also known in Samoa. A
127 solitary instrument in the British Museum has been wrongly
attributed to New Zealand. I saw four Tongan instruments
[114] in the British Museum and one in the Berne Museum. As
I took photographs and notes on the five instruments, I give
the details here to place the Tongan technique on record.

TONGA

The authenticity of pan-pipes in Tonga is placed beyond
doubt by Cook (3, 3rd vol., pl. 21, fig. 5), who saw the instru-
ment being played and figured a specimen, which Andersen
reproduced in his work. The instrument figured is evidently
the one I saw in the British Museum attributed to Cook.
The other three in the British Museum were collected on a
voyage of *H.M.S. Herald.* The instrument in the Berne
Museum was collected by Webber, the artist with Cook's
534 third expedition. The five instruments are shown in fig. 1
128 and the number of reeds, length in inches of the shortest and
longest reeds, and the width of the instruments are given in
the accompanying table. The British Museum specimens are
grouped together under the number 56/7-9/6 and the Berne
Museum instrument is numbered Fr. 22.

534 The reeds consist of varying lengths of bamboo arranged in a single row with the upper open ends in a straight line and the lower closed ends forming an irregular line except in the smallest instrument (*e*). The open ends are trimmed both back and front into a concave curve, the curve on one surface being usually deeper than the other. The reeds are bound with two horizontal rows of coconut-husk fibre, an upper row a little below the open ends and a lower row just above the level of the closed end of the shortest reed.

[128] The instruments in fig. 1 are drawn in the position in which they were photographed by me with the shortest reed on the right, but I have no information as to whether or not this was the position when played. However, when held in this position, the deeper curves of the open ends are toward the mouth and one may therefore assume that this was the

28: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1941 OU9 Tonga OU9

assistant who completed the row with the same weft- 114
elements while the first woman commenced another row.
By the time the new weft-row reached the middle, the assistant had completed the preceding row and was ready to take over. Thus two women could weave on the one garment, but the second woman worked away from the first and not toward her. An author who could not describe accurately what he saw can be little relied upon to record accurately what he did not see.

Andersen (1) mentions that J. Macmillan Brown wrote 534
that the pan-pipes were reported "once or twice from New 171
Zealand" but Brown did not give his authorities for this
statement. Evidently, according to Andersen, Macmillan 114
Brown referred to Marshall and Edge-Partington. Elsdon [177]
Best rightly considered that the instrument was essentially
Melanesian and had reached Tonga through Fiji. George 534
Graham, who made special inquiries for S. Percy Smith many
years ago, found that none of the old Maoris he interviewed 171
had ever seen or heard of such an instrument.

Coming to the instrument in the British Museum, it is [127]
curious that it should be the only specimen attributed to New
Zealand, whereas large numbers of the various Maori musical

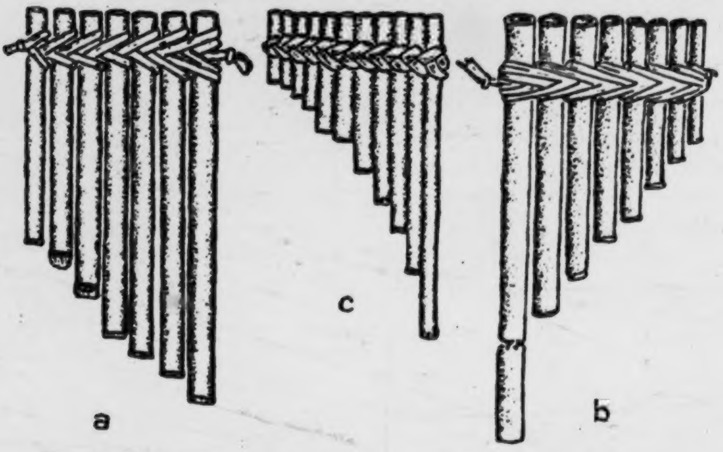

FIG. 4—PAN-PIPES WITH ONE ROW OF HERRING-BONE LASHING.
a. British Museum specimen wrongly attributed to New Zealand.
b. Tanna, New Hebrides (Cook's Voyages).
c. New Hebrides instrument in British Museum.

534 instruments have been preserved together with their names.
171 Any single representative of an alleged class of object must
be treated with suspicion. However, there is a very simple
● 127 method of deciding whether the instrument belongs to New
Zealand or not, and this is by examining the material from
which it is made. I did not see the instrument when I studied
Polynesian artifacts in the British Museum in 1933, and it is
not possible to obtain further details at present because the
British Museum material has been stored in the country for
safety during the duration of the war. However, a study of
Edge-Partington's (2, series 1, pl. 386, fig. 4) drawing, reproduced in fig. 4 *a*, indicates clearly that the reeds composing
534 the instrument consist of bamboo. The bamboo *(kohe, 'ohe,
'ofe)*, though widely spread throughout the tropics, was not
171 present in New Zealand in pre-European times. The fact
that the Polynesian bamboo name of *kohe* was given by the
early Maori settlers to a totally different plant *(Dysoxylum
spectabile)* shows that they neither introduced the bamboo
nor found it in the native flora of New Zealand. Having a
plant-name to spare, the Maoris applied it to a plant which
produced long slender saplings that could be used for some
of the purposes which bamboo served in their previous home
in central Polynesia. The poles, however, were solid and
could not be used to make pan-pipes even had they been
[127] acquainted with that instrument. Thus, if the British
Museum instrument is made of bamboo, as it appears to be,
the instrument cannot possibly belong to New Zealand.

In the alleged New Zealand instrument, seven reeds are regularly graded in sequence of length. The lashing-technique consists of a single row near the upper end and the turns around the reeds form a continuous chevron or herring-bone pattern (fig. 4, *a*). In both reed-arrangement and lashing-technique, the instrument differs greatly from the Tongan type. In seeking the correct locality of the instrument, my attention was arrested by Andersen's (1, p. 23) reproduction of a figure in the illustrations of Cook's voyages, of a pan-pipe from Tanna, New Hebrides. The regular arrangement of the reeds, the herring-bone pattern of the lashing, and even the overhand knots at each end of the lashings are identical in the drawings of the two instruments. The only differences are that the Cook instrument has one

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more reed and the longest reed has extra length below the closing node (fig. 4, *b*). The two drawings were made from opposite sides which may confuse the reader at first glance.

Another pan-pipe in the British Museum figured by Edge-Partington (2) and attributed to the New Hebrides is shown in fig. 4, *c*. Two other New Hebrides pan-pipes in the Peabody Museum, Salem, with nine and eleven reeds respectively, show the same regular grading of reeds and a similar lashing in one row with the herring-bone pattern.

Edge-Partington, in a note to his drawing of fig. 4, *c*, states that the reeds are "fastened together with strips of leaf." In some modern pan-pipes in the Bishop Museum from the New Hebrides with three rows of lashing similar to the Tongan technique, the lashing-material consists of strips of the separated upper surface of pandanus leaves. It is probable that pandanus leaf is the leaf referred to by Edge-Partington for though techniques may alter somewhat, people are likely to adhere to the local raw material used by their elders. If another test were required to disprove the New Zealand locality of the pan-pipe attributed to it, the absence of New Zealand flax fibre as the lashing material would be significant, but the presence of pandanus leaf would be conclusive evidence as the pandanus is not present in the New Zealand flora. However, the use of bamboo reeds is conclusive enough. From the evidence, it is clear that pan-pipes were not used in New Zealand and the specimen in the British Museum attributed to New Zealand belongs to the New Hebrides.

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CONCLUSION

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Pan-pipes are widely spread throughout New Guinea and Melanesia, but in Polynesia they occurred only in Tonga and Samoa, two groups in closest proximity to Fiji, the eastern outpost of Melanesia. Tonga, Samoa, and Fiji form a triangle within which frequent inter-island communication and trade took place. Tonga traded with Fiji for red feathers, sandal wood, and logs for building double-canoes. Even Fijian craftsmen were imported into Tonga to build the Fijian type of double-canoe. This form under the name of *kalia* displaced the older Tongan type termed *tongiaki*. Samoa also traded with Fiji for red feathers and like the Tongans adopted the later double-canoe with its dialectical name of *'alia* in place

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31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
OU9 Tonga OU9

LAND TENURE AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION IN TONGA

By R. R. NAYACAKALOU

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THIS IS THE first of several papers examining the relationship between 121 land tenure and social organisation in three Pacific Island communities—Fiji, Tonga and Samoa. My initial interest in the subject lay primarily in elucidating the social implications of the Fijian land tenure system, especially in its relation to present-day developments in the social and economic fields; but it soon became evident that for such a study the comparative approach would give a firmer base—hence the inclusion of Tonga and Samoa. Choice of these territories arose partly from practical considerations[1] but partly also from the fact that their systems are variant from the Fijian type in different ways.

The plan of the papers will follow closely the plan of the research which forms the basis of them. The relation between land tenure and social [128] organisation will be studied separately in respect of Tonga, Samoa and then Fiji, and a final paper will draw the threads together in a general way, indicating the relevance of the conclusions to the Fijian situation in particular.

The research work on which the paper is based was carried out from 101 early December, 1957, to mid-February, 1958; I spent a total of five weeks in Tonga, three weeks in Samoa and three weeks in Fiji. In view of the 127 brevity of these periods, I have depended rather heavily upon existing documentary material for the background knowledge in the light of which my own material has been presented. I feel that while my own contribution has its 114 value, the brevity of the fieldwork should be kept in mind in assessing the value of the conclusions drawn.

In Tonga I stayed in the capital town of Nuku'alofa with an old friend, Mr. Mahe Uliuli Tupouniua, at the time Government Auditor in Tonga and formerly a colleague at the University of Auckland. My interpreter was Mr. Puniloa Afu, a Training College student on vacation at the time. My centre of research was four miles from where I lived, but I was able to get there and back each day by motor cycle. In Samoa, through lack of a suit- ooo able informant and also owing to the refusal of the people to discuss land matters in a village which I intended to investigate in detail, I was unable to obtain much first hand information. But owing to the very willing coöperation and assistance of the members of the Lands Department, and particularly the assistance given me by the Judge of the Land and Titles Court, I secured information which I think worth publishing. In Fiji I worked mainly in Suva, checking up on and expanding the knowledge already gained in connection with an earlier field trip.

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[1] These were the most accessible considering the normal movements of [114] passenger traffic in the area and the time at my disposal; also they were of special interest to me as I was responsible for the teaching of the course on the ethnography of Fiji, Tonga and Samoa given at the Department of Anthropology in the University of Auckland.

33: Palmer A-4 (no date) 1963 OU9 Tonga OU9

CONCLUSION

OOO Pottery from site 20, Fiji, displays certain rim forms, vessel shapes and decorative techniques that are also found in site 21, except that sherds with the *pointillé* style of fine incised decoration are lacking. It also shows that both paddle and anvil and hand-moulding techniques were in use in the manufacture of vessels. The flat-bottomed dish shape, the extensive use of outcurving flat rims, and the notched edging on the lip are paralleled in early pottery from sites in New Caledonia or the Ile des Pins on the one hand and Tonga on the other hand.[14] In view of the fact that these sand hills may be exported for their iron ore content, it might be worthwhile that more extensive surface collections and some excavations were undertaken there in the immediate future.[15]

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Eastern Polynesian-Type Adzes from Tonga

BY J. B. PALMER

412 [128] 412 171 These notes describe two gripped or tanged adzes of a rare type in west Polynesia.[1] Few adzes from this area show a triangular cross-section with the apex to the front which, in some cases, has been reduced in width to form a ridge, except where the bevel modifies the cross-section. Many archaeologists and ethnologists, particularly in New Zealand, know this adze as the hog-back, its more familiar name. Golson records the almost complete absence of the type from the adze collections he examined in Tonga[2] so that any localised specimen is important for present studies in the type's distribution, not only in Tonga itself but in the whole of west Polynesia.

127 [122] Both specimens are part of a very fine Oceanic collection in the Pigorini Museum of Ethnology and Prehistory in Rome and the Museum's Director, Dr. P. Sestieri, has kindly allowed me to publish these notes and drawings. The adzes were acquired from J. F. G. Umlauff of Hamburg in March 1886 by E. H. Giglioli, whose collection forms the major part of the Pigorini Museum's Oceanic material. A feature of the Giglioli material is the detailed information on the labels which gives provenance, tribal names where known and references to descriptions of similar specimens in the literature. Giglioli's labels can be considered an accurate record of Umlauff's informa-

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[1] Golson 1959:3.
[2] Golson 1957:7.

33: Palmer A-4 (no date) 1963 OU9 Tonga OU9

tion so that only the latter's localisation can be open to doubt. Since the place-names concerned imply familiarity with the localities, it seems probable that they may be correct. 127

The larger of the two adzes No. 1089 from the Hahake (Fig. 1) is a large one of light fawn volcanic stone. Both front and back are curved longitudinally, giving it a hollow back, while the angle of the straight bevel is quite steep. The front and front edges of the butt have been flaked and reduced in a curve to create a marked tang or grip without, however, reducing the edges of the sides and back. The line of distinction between the blade and the butt appears as a curve on either side while the blade itself is set at a marked angle to the butt. There is a suggestion of a lug at the poll and almost a flange on one side, beyond which there has been further reduction of the grip. The front of the blade tapers considerably and like the other blade faces is ground. The label has the following information on it: *Toki enorme ascia litica di tipo speciale contallone Da Hahake NE dell'isola Tongatabu, Polynesia. Acq. da Umlauff a Amburgo 20.III.1886 No. 1089 E. H. Giglioli.* A translation of the first sentence is as follows: "Enormous toki stone axe of special type with heel from Hahake NE of Tongatabu Island, Polynesia."

412 [324] [324]

The second specimen is from Eua (presumably from Eua and not Eua Iki) and like the Hahake adze is of a similar stone. It is much smaller and in side view shows some of the same characteristics: blade set at an angle to the butt, steep bevel angle, hollow back and distinctive grip which has a definite lug at the poll. Reduction of the sides and front have formed

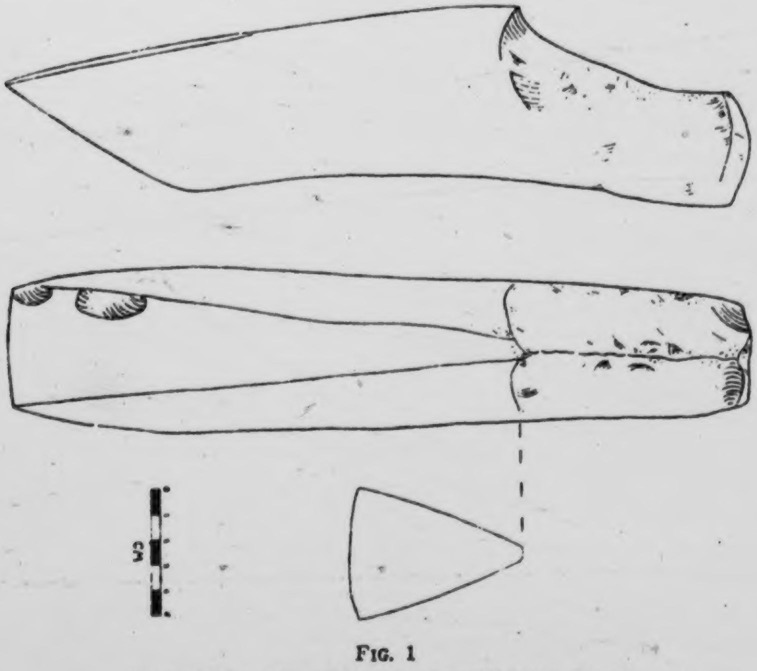

FIG. 1

Hog-backed adze with grip, from Hahake, Tonga.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

PREFACE

121 What we present here is basically a photographic narrative—though by no means comprehensive—of the story of Tonga: showing how the myriad, complex elements of her past evolved and became interwoven into the tapestry of life that this small but proud Polynesian Kingdom reveals today as her own.

128 Captions are bi-lingual; they were translated into
Tongan loosely, rather than verbatim, in order to
127 capture their meaning. Reproduced here are
engravings taken from valuable, often rare volumes
of exploring voyages for the benefit of Tongans who
otherwise would not have the opportunity of seeing
how early life in Tonga was—or at least how it was
viewed by some of the first visitors to Tonga.
126 Combined with these are modern-day photos which
our photographer was able to procure only through
the hospitality and kindnesses of many people in
Tonga.

128 Producing *Tonga Pictorial—Kupesi ’o Tonga* was a mammoth undertaking which required the assistance and cooperation of countless people. Among those persons whom we of the Tofua Press would like to extend our special thanks for aiding us in our work, advising us about our problems, and caring for us in our times of need, are: Princess Pilolevu, the Government of Tonga, Honorable Ve’ehala, Toe’umu Fineanganofo, Minioneti Misieli, Tupou Posesi Fanua, Futa & Kaloni Helu, Laumakia Tupou, Liu & Maile Tongilava, Tu’ifua ’Utoikamanu, Pat Matheson, Siosiua Fonua, Tonga

[P. V-A]

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

permanent settlement. The same is true for some of the smaller Ha'apai 162
islands: they have been farmed from nearby islands, but have never 361
supported permanent populations. In Vava'u, the uninhabited islands
are often small, steep and rocky, while the small islands off Tongatapu
which were once inhabited are today the preserves of sojourning fishermen.
Of more interest is the large island of 'Eua (34 square miles), the
reason for the small population of which has long been an enigma.
The difficult passage to Tongatapu is said by Tongans to be the main
reason for its low population. While this could deter intensive settlement 162
a more likely factor, as Maude surmises, is the scarcity of seafoods. 361
Maude, in seeking a rationale for adjacent areas of high and low 261
density within the group, has suggested that densities are generally
determined by a *balance* of both land and sea resources. Where sea
resources are limited or access to them difficult, as in parts of eastern
Ha'apai and Tongatapu, in the higher parts of 'Uta Vava'u, and in
'Eua, population densities are low; conversely, where the shores and
reefs are highly productive, as in the smaller western islands of
Ha'apai and the western tip of Tongatapu, densities are high. This,
broadly, can be assumed to have influenced traditional settlement patterns,
which only today are being modified as population increases
and new influences, such as urbanism, take their effect.

Estimations of the size and distribution of population within the 161
group prior to the first census (1921), of which there are no extant 162
records, rely on what at best can be termed informed guesses, sometimes 127
supported by mission returns and head counts. None of the
censuses until 1956 can really be considered reliable. Of these earlier
censuses McArthur states that fluctuations of the populations of individual
islands "are such as to arouse considerable doubts of the
accuracy of either the recording or summarising of the data."[11] Table 1
is presented with this warning heeded, but in the belief that several
broad conclusions can be drawn from it.

This table shows an overall pattern of population decline and recovery 161
common in the Pacific following contact with Europeans. [177]
Tupouniua has suggested three contact phases:[12]

1. *1643–1799*: A phase in which there is no record of—"large scale destruction through diseases, and wars were totally unknown. Presumably, therefore, there was a balanced and vigorous population with steady population growth."

2. *1799–1852:* "A phase of bewilderment and social disintegration
marked by a sense of insecurity. There was much rivalry for power [669]
between chiefs that . . . ended in armed conflicts . . . (while) . . . several [165]
epidemics are reported to have occurred with heavy loss of life." [731]

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[11] McArthur (1967): 81.

[12] Tupouniua (1958): 17-18.

161 population movement and the rapidity and extent of its growth since
1956 are likely to have important consequences which will bear
162 heavily on traditional political, social and economic customs and
166 practices throughout the kingdom. Until the mid-1950s, population
361 movement was more especially to rural Tongatapu rather than to
Nuku'alofa. Thus during this period (1931-56) Nuku'alofa's annual growth rate (5.2 percent) was less than that of rural Tongatapu (6.3 percent), but since then the growth rate of Nuku'alofa (7.4 percent) has exceeded that of rural Tongatapu (5.3 percent). The most urban part of the town, Kolofo'ou, grew at an even faster rate (8.6 percent) while nearby Havelu Loto, the centre of the only sizeable industry on the island,[17] grew at the fantastic annual rate of 35.7 percent between 1956 and 1966. Where village growth exceeded or nearly approximated that of Nuku'alofa, it was either in very small villages, where an influx of a handful of settlers would give apparently spectacular increases, or in settlements to the centre and east of the island for reasons noted above. In 1956 Nuku'alofa contained 29 percent of Tongatapu's population and 16 percent of that of the kingdom; in 1966 these percentages had risen to 33 and 20 respectively.[18] This demonstrates both the increasing importance of Nuku'alofa in terms of total population and the marked tendency for population movement to Tongatapu to be urban-orientated.

554 Factors *pushing* people out of the outer islands and *pulling* them
towards Tongatapu and Nuku'alofa are: the greater opportunities for
511 social mobility in recent years: the changing economic needs of the
505 average Tongan; easier transport between islands; and, more recently,
207 the advertising (over the Tongan radio) of the attractions of Nuku'alofa;
447 overpopulation; land tied up in title disputes and in other ways kept
423 back from distribution; the low price for copra; two hurricanes in the
435 northern islands in 1961 and 1963; and the decimation of the banana
132 by black leaf streak and other diseases in Vava'u. If one single cause
245 can sum up these various and interrelated factors, it is the need for
money.[19]

It is not possible to know which islands and villages have recently
contributed most to Nuku'alofa's growth, for the 1966 census contained
127 no special statistics on towns. The following remarks, therefore, are
101 based mainly on information extracted from the 1956 census sorting

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655 [17] Quasi-government industries producing coconut by-products and furniture.

[18] Of the other two towns, Neiafu contained 23 percent of the Vava'u population in 1956 and 26 percent in 1966; the respective figures for Pangai-Hihifo were 28 and 25 percent. Neiafu grew at an annual rate of 2.5 percent; Pangai-Hihifo lost population (—0.5 percent p.a.)

[19] Walsh (1964): 179-197 discusses migrants' reasons for moving to Nuku'alofa. Some implications of these factors are discussed below. See 'Mobility and Economic Development.'

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

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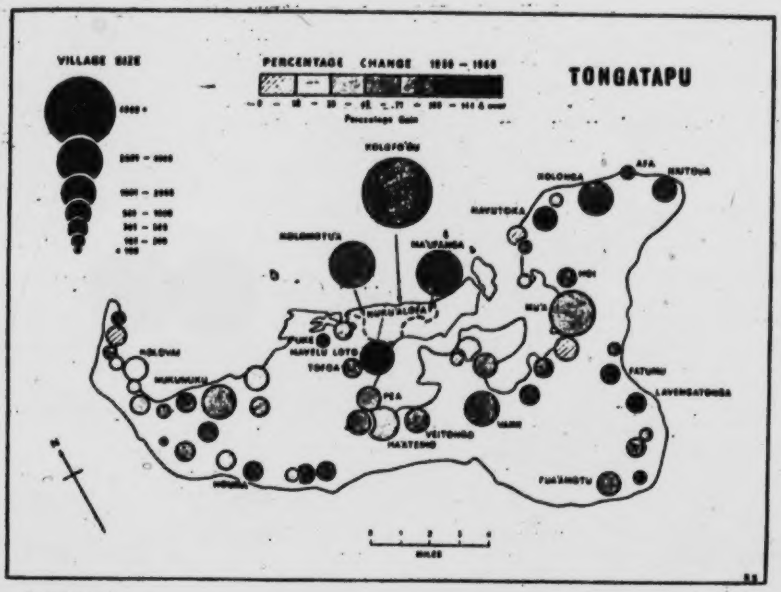
VILLAGE SIZE
PERCENTAGE CHANGE
Percentage Gain
TONGATAPU
KOLOFO'OU
KOLOMOTU'A
MA'UFANGA
NUKU'ALOFA
HOLONGA
AFA
NIUTOUA
NAVUTOKA
HOI
MU'A
PUKE
HAVELU LOTO
TOFOA
KOLOVAI
NUKUNUKU
PEA
VEITONGO
MATENGO
VAINI
FATUMU
LAVENGATONGA
FUA'AMOTU
HOUMA
MILES

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cards and from fieldwork undertaken in 1963-4. They relate to movement from other parts of Tongatapu, and from the northern island groups of Ha'apai and Vava'u which together accounted for almost all the town's migrant population at that date.[20] [127] [101]

Urban Movement—1956

Movement to Nuku'alofa from other parts of Tongatapu was more significant in terms of numbers than movement from the other islands, but it mainly involved young people, especially college girls, and women, many of whom had married into local families. For this reason it is thought to have fewer social and economic implications than migration from outside Tongatapu. There did, however, seem to be a more normal migratory pattern from the more densely populated west of the island. This area was, and still is, the slowest growing, and the proportion of migrants in the school age group was less than elsewhere. The area also has long-standing cultural ties with Nuku'alofa through mutual association with the *tu'i kanokupolu* title which appears likely to have influenced migration in the past and initiated a pattern of chain migration which still continues today.

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[20] Much of the following section is based on Walsh (1969a).

175 the Haveatungua is traditionally linked with the island of
361 [565] Tungua, which is part of the noble's estate in Ha'apai.
Thus it was not until the second half of the nineteenth
century that the present settlement of the village can be
said to have begun.

Shortly before the turn of the century, according to
361 621 [115] both Fatafehi and Hūfangalupe, two old people (a man and a
woman, not related) who were living in Motulahi at that
time and who are reputed to manatu lelei (remember well),
the village comprised a total of fewer than ten households.
Today, out of a total of 145 households, 75 households in
the village are headed by descendants of those few house-
[115] holds. There were still only ten households in Motulahi
in 1919, according to Pulotu, a third informant, who had
moved to Motulahi in that year as a newly-married young
man seeking land. It is not clear how many people this
included, as households were reckoned by each of the three
informants mainly by reference to the names of the heads
of the households. However, the three lists of names are
in substantial agreement if we allow for certain
[127] accountable changes between 1900 and 1919. Twelve years
later, in 1931, according to a police census taken that
year (Wood 1932), there were 159 people living in Motulahi.
This probably means no fewer than fifteen nor more than
thirty households in 1931.

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satisfied to take a rear seat to those whom they feel to be intellectually inferior. 559 565

It would seem that Tonga will not cease to be a rank-oriented society. 555 Rank is endemic to Polynesian society and no doubt will continue to be an organizing factor in Tongan social and societal structures. The principles of rank will probably shift to a greater emphasis on achievement, which indeed was true at the time when Tupou I appointed his legal nobles from a large choice of chiefs. At that time achievement was based on warfare and ability. After the nobles were appointed, however, the traditional principles of rank took over, and in effect they changed only in small details that functioned in such a way as to make major changes unnecessary. This may continue to operate in the future, with educated commoners 000 marrying the daughters of chiefs to elevate their descendants' class rank. But it is hard to see how *ha'a* rank will continue to be the vehicle of political power play. Already there are two educated commoners as Cabinet [565] Ministers, and it seems probable that, not too far in the future, office holders [555] by virtue of tradition will operate in a sphere of influence that is separate from real political power, which will then be in the hands of nontraditional leaders operating under new principles of rank.

NOTES 000

1. Research in the Tonga Islands was carried out for one and one half years from 1964 to 1967 and was supported by Public Health Service Fellowship No. 5-F1-MH-25,984-02 from the National Institute of Mental Health, and by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. [122] [114] I wish to thank the government of Tonga under their majesties the late Queen Sālote Tupou III and the present King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV as well as the many Tongans who helped me in my work, especially the Honorable Ve'ehala, keeper of the Palace records, who was especially helpful in traditional and genealogical information. I would also like to thank Raymond Firth, Alan Howard, Roger Green, Ward Goodenough, and Marshall Sahlins for reading and commenting on this paper. Most of the information was collected in the field; there was [128] little reliance on earlier published accounts of Tonga. The reader will note that frequently details do not agree with Gifford (1929) but that in many ways Tongan social [127] organization was the same in 1967 as it was in 1920. [178]

2. Rank as manifested in material culture and language will be the subject of a subsequent paper.

3. The term *matakali* is also in use today. The word is a borrowing from Fijian [192] *mataqali* and refers to a group not necessarily related by traceable blood ties.

4. A woman may differentiate her *tama* by the terms *tama fefine* (female offspring) and *tama tangata* (male offspring), but it is not necessary to do so because her behavior to them is the same. [601] A man, however, elevates his daughter over his son and [602] correspondingly differentiates them terminologically.

5. See Gifford (1929) and Beaglehole (1941) for customs relating to brother-sister avoidance.

6. *Tokoua* can be divided into *ta'okete* (elder sibling of the same sex) and *tehina* 602 (younger sibling of the same sex). The principle of relative age has little importance 612 here; in fact, descendants of two brothers or two sisters are often termed *kāinga tau* 554 (fighting relatives) because they often argue over which one is higher. This principle does have importance, however, in inheritance. [601]

7. The example assumes that all have the same class rank.

8. A dead man's *tama 'a tu'asina* (children of his mother's brother) and the *tama 'a tu'asina* of his mother (children of his mother's mother's brother), are known as *liongi* [764] (for funerals only). [601]

9. Men and women form separate kava circles to avoid *tuofefine* ("sisters") and *tuonga'ane* ("brothers") being in the same circle, which would considerably restrict the topics of conversation. 612 554 [602] [764]

10. For example, if a man's eldest sister is not available, any sister can play the required role. [574]

11. This innovation has tended to complicate rank even further by introducing a kind of "estate system," in which the organizing principle is land tenure and land rights. 554 565

12. Most commoners say that they do not belong to a *ha'a;* however, they can often trace their relationship to a chief and know to which *ha'a* he belongs. This may be because Tongans are usually quite modest, not claiming *ha'a* membership because "such things are affairs of the chiefs." [423]

13. This version was given on a school radio broadcast in 1966, and is common knowledge among most Tongan adults. 000

14. The names of the two divisions refer to their original geographical placement. The Kauhala'uta lived on the inland (*'uta*) side of the road, while the Kauhalalalo lived on the lower or ocean side of the road, in order to protect the Tu'i Tonga and his people. The data presented in this section are mainly from the Honorable Ve'ehala, a chief of Ha'a Ngata Motu'a; Sister Augustino, a descendant of the Tu'i Kanokupolu line; and a book of genealogies belonging to the present-day descendant of the Tu'i Tonga line. [554] [565] [613] [616] [115]

15. See Figure 1. [127] ●

16. At one of the last society-wide events which included dances (the coronation of the present king on July 4, 1967) the Tu'i Ha'ateiho's village did dance at the *mala'e* of the Tu'i Tonga. They were not, however, dancing for the descendant of the Tu'i Tonga, but for the Fijians who were guests at his home for the coronation, and the Tu'i Ha'ateiho was thus activating his Fijian relationships. Most of the villagers dancing did not know why they were dancing at the home of the Tu'i Tonga, only that they should not be doing so. In this case it was necessary not only to have the participants' point of view but also the societal point of view in order to understand the formal significance of this dance presentation. 554 565 613 616 [612] [535]

17. The Falefa were the original *mātapule* (ceremonial attendants) and, because of their celestial origin, form a separate class. Later *mātapule* were recruited from the *tu'a* (commoners) or brought from Samoa. [173]

18. Ha'a Ngana, which includes Tu'i Ha'a Ngana and Malupō, originated by segmentation from the twentieth Tu'i Tonga as shown here. Today, however, they are included in Falefisi. Note that the origin of Ha'a Ngana and Fale Fisi presented here differs considerably from Gifford (1929: 34). However, Gifford (1929: 39), is not consistent. [173]

19. Note that the present King and his brother are heads not only of two different *ha'a* but of *ha'a* in two different divisions, demonstrating that societal inheritance is not simply by patrilineal descent, or even close blood relationship, and that *ha'a* are not lineages by the usual definition. [643] [644]

20. See Figure 2.

21. According to my informants, Nuku was the younger brother of the 6th Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, not his "son," as Gifford (1929: 36) states. 616

22. The name originated on an occasion when the three of them were wrapped in a mat and resembled one man with three heads. 613 554

23. Kanokupolu is the name of a village on the western end of Tongatapu. The word itself means "flesh of Upolu," which refers to the tradition that the mother of Ngata was from Upolu, Samoa. 565 173

24. The title Tungi is presently vacant; the last Tungi is now King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV.

25. Cross-cousin marriage (*kite tama*) was not prescribed, proscribed, or preferred, but was occasionally practiced among the highest chiefs to prevent social repercussions that might result if a Tu'i were outranked by a collateral line. The traditional incest rules seem to have been that one could marry his third cousin (*mokopuna tolu*), and cross-cousin marriage was not a perceived alternate in choosing a mate. Rather, cross-cousin 613 554 565 581 582

this will be an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has 121
shifted.
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NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Third Annual Meeting of the 121
Association for Socail Anthropology in Oceania (March 13-17, 1974) for a
Symposium on "Alcohol and Kava Use in the Pacific Islands." Research was 186
conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1970 and from August to October of 524
1971. In the intervening months archival research was conducted in the major
libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in 276
the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.
2. There is at least one other alcohol-dispensing club in the Kingdom, namely the [101]
"Vava'u Club" in Vava'u. Since my work in Tonga a new hotel has opened in Vava'u, [127]
and alcohol prices probably follow the prices of the hotels on Tongatapu. It should
be pointed out that in 1970 and 1971 the various clubs and hotels were selling 275
beverages in obvious violation of Tonga's "Blue Laws" which (theoretically) forbid 273
essentially all non-religious business activities on Sundays.
3. For further information on rank and title see Urbanowicz 1973:114. 795
4. Tongans not only presented *kava* roots to important individuals but also took *kava* [527]
roots on visits to important places. The Wesleyan Missionary W. Cross, in the islands [656]
from 1827 to 1833 and again from 1834 to 1835, pointed this out: "The [Tongan]
Chief observed that on former occasions when they visited and [*sic.*] island it was
their custom to take large pieces of *kava* for the gods; and that to Nomuka alone they 276
used to take at least 10 pieces" (Cross 1830b).
5. A similar detailed description from Hobbs supports the idea of title removal and land 574
distribution at a kava ceremony: "A 'fai Kava' i.e. meeting for drinking Kava took 554
place at Nuku'alofa on Tuesday the 18th at which [Jiosaia] Tubou presided of 113
course as the Tui-kanokubolu. Taufa-ahou [also known as King George Tupou] and
all the other principal persons were there, and word was sent to Lavaka at the Bea to 276
come and attend before our people and Taufa-ahou left the Island, but Lavaka [still]
refused. The ceremony therefore proceeded without Lavaka. THE PRINCIPAL 574
OBJECT OF THE KAVA MEETING WAS TO STATE OFFICIALLY FROM THE 609
TUI-KANOKUBOLU WHO WAS THE[N] [TO] OCCUPY THE GOVERNMENT IN
THE DIFFERENT DISTRICTS IN TONGA since the rebellion; and the principal
things affected by this appointment are as follows: Old Fatu who was the Ist heathen 425
[or non-Wesleyan] chief who submitted, and who had now come to Nukualofa to the
Tui-kanokubolu has got a considerable augmentation of his power in being appointed 276
Tui-Hahake. OLD LAVAKA IS OFFICIALLY DEPRIVED OF ALL HIS POWER BY 574
THE APPOINTMENT OF OLD SEMI AND FOKE as Tuihaamea, because the fortress
at the Bea stands in Haamea" [all STRESS added] (Hobbs *Journal*: April 22, 1837). 684
6. I witnessed a *Taumafa kava* ceremony on the island of 'Eua over the period 558
14 September to 17 September, 1971, having travelled to the island with the royal
part on *H.M.V. Kao.* Enroute to 'Eua from the island of Tongatapu, a journey of 651
some four hours, I was fortunate to have approximately a three hour and forty-five 178
minute private discussion with His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV (on just about
everything under the Tongan sun, including *kava*). Much of my thinking about *kava* 543
has been influenced by my discussions with His Majesty AS WELL AS by numerous 643
discussions with other Tongans, of all ranks. I also took part in numerous kava 123
ceremonies in Tonga occasionally where I was treated as the guest of honor.
7. The *'inasi* ceremony was not only an important ceremony in aboriginal Tongan 115
society but it also had parallels in other parts of Polynesia (Goldman 1970:134; and 276
Sahlins 1958:24-25). The Tongans were a horticultural people and indeed, today, 574
agriculture along with "tourism" are the mainstays of the Tongan economy. The yam

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Change in Rank and Status in the Polynesian Kingdom of Tonga

CHARLES F. URBANOWICZ

There is a certain amount of timelessness inherent in some ethnographic 114
reports: a timelessness which stems from the quest of the synchronic description *cum* analysis of culture. This timelessness is present even though I am in agreement with Locher's basic point that "there is a new interest in the relation between anthropology and history" (Locher 1967: 77). Unfortunately, this relationship has yet to be intensified.

Change obviously takes place over time, yet all too often statements in the published accounts have compressed many of the unique aspects of Tongan culture into a homogenized whole. The massive work of Gifford (1929) has various points in it where one is not certain what was aboriginal Tonga and what was the Tonga of Gifford's research period of 1920–1921. In order to describe aboriginal Tonga and analyze changes in Tonga, one must "begin at the beginning" and gather the most reputable information on aboriginal Tonga, i.e. early-contacted Tonga. By itself, twentieth-century "memory culture" of what aboriginal Tonga was like (from which most researchers get their idealistic ethnographic base lines) is not sufficient to say what Tonga was like in the past. Memory culture descriptions,

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GM01382-05). Field work was conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1970 and 101
from August to October of 1971. In the intervening months archival research was
conducted in the major libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the 127
research being done in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia. Assistance and data 000
provided by all of the individuals contacted in Tonga, especially those connected with
the *Komiti Talafakafonua 'o Tonga* (Tongan Traditions Committee), and by the individuals of the research institutions, is greatly appreciated.

65: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9

177 society merits closer consideration than 1850 for Tonga (Goldman 1970:
178 xxviii).

178 Utilizing 1800 as a reference date for Tonga, one has a dynamically
554 operating and changing Polynesian society, with an elaborate system of
rank (based on kinship ties) and status (based on kinship and achieve-
[114] ment). Changes in the rank and status systems resulted from Western
contact but these have not always been successfully analyzed or reported
in ethnographic accounts.[3]

ABORIGINAL TONGA

643 There are four major titles in Tonga with which we are concerned: *Tu'i*
644 *Tonga, Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, Tu'i Kanokupolu,* and *Tamaha.* When the
554 various missionaries arrived in the archipelago, they grasped part of the
cultural system of ranking. The Wesleyan missionary Lawry recorded in his diary for September 13, 1823, that

> the following is the order in which the present Chiefs of the Friendly Islands rank, viz: –
> 1. Tooitonga [*Tu'i Tonga*]
> 2. Tooihatacalowa [*Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua*]
> 3. Tooicanacabooloo [*Tu'i Kanokupolu*]

Another Wesleyan missionary, John Thomas (in the archipelago from

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121 [3] The only way in which a researcher can attempt a reconstruction of aboriginal
127 culture is for that researcher to examine the earliest extant documentation pertaining
to that culture and then make comparisons between the old information and new in-
[114] formation gathered by contemporary field work. Urbanowicz (1972) provides a
detailed explication of the methodology of the documentary research.

127 Ethnohistorical techniques were used to extract ethnographic information of the past
from the documentary materials. Ethnohistory is thus the application of historical method to a body of documents specifically chosen for the construction of an historical ethnography (See Fenton 1962; Sturtevant 1966). The ethnohistorian focuses on the "ethno-" in the term, in presenting an ethnography of a given group of people; the "-history" refers not to the writing of history, but to the application of historical method to gather verifiable ethnographic facts of the past. Ethnohistory is not a study of change per se, although it eventually contributes to studies of change. The term ethnohistory as used by ethnographers is not synonymous with culture history, as the distinguished Pacific historian H. E. Maude has written (1971: 21).

121 Every ethnographer is, in essence, an ethnohistorian, since every ethnographer must
read background material prior to beginning field work and must weigh and assess
previous research reports; and every ethnohistorian is at heart an ethnographer,
combining archival research with field work among the contemporary people. This is
128 why I went to Tonga. Also see Cohn 1968; Dodge 1968; and Lurie 1961. Original
orthography has been maintained throughout this paper.

121 attempts to relate the Tongan material to the general statements of
Geertz (1963) and Boserup (1965) on the effect of population growth
on man/land relationships.

Varying approaches and methods have been used in this research in an attempt to combine depth of understanding with breadth of coverage. Some aspects of the system of man/land relationships, for instance the uneven population distribution or the pattern of internal migration, can only be understood by analysis at both the national and local levels. Other aspects, such as the functioning of the land-tenure system or the effect of population density on agriculture, require studies of individual gardens, households and villages, and the comparison of areas experiencing differing conditions. Broadly, the material used can be divided into four main types:

127 (1) Material relating to the whole of Tonga. This includes the
reports of the 1956 and 1966 Censuses, the records and maps of the
Lands and Survey Department, and official statistics and departmental reports.

125 (2) Material from detailed surveys at the level of the household
127 and village. This includes a general household questionnaire survey
of four villages in Tongatapu, the main island of Tonga, more
specialized surveys of land holding (one village in Ha'apai) and food
cropping (two villages in Tongatapu and one in Ha'apai), and the
results of three previous village studies of land tenure.

124 (3) Material from reconnaissance surveys, which involved
interviews with key informants in a number of other villages
[121] throughout Tonga. The object was to determine the extent to which
conditions in these villages were similar to, or differed from, conditions in the villages studied in greater detail.

124 (4) Historical material, obtained through interviews and arch-
127 ival research, and from previous studies in Tonga. Such material,
[121] although limited in amount, is valuable in providing a time-
dimension to some of the variables involved in man/land relationships.

125 The bulk of the material is from the detailed surveys, which were
made within the framework of the village community. No attempt
was made to draw a general random sample of households over the
whole of Tonga; instead a small number of villages was selected and
125 either all or a sample of the households in each were studied. At the
121 time field-work was undertaken no suitable frame existed for an
overall random sample; but there were also methodological reasons
for the choice of an approach through the village. In an unfamiliar

128 pressure. As the term is used here, 'population pressure' implies the
[121] existence of stress in the man/land system resulting from increases in
population density, stress being indicated by a deterioration in some
of the variables in the system, such as a decline in the nutrient status
of the soil or an increase in land disputes (Farmer, 1954; Lea, 1964,
1965; Street, 1969; Vermeer 1970). The following sections therefore
examine three aspects of the man/land system—land tenure, the
agricultural system, and the human perception of and reponse to
population pressure—to see if there are any indications of stress.
Analysis of the effect of population density is mostly through a
comparison of areas of different density, chosen so that other independent variables are reasonably constant. For example, study of
the effect of population density on the food cropping system is
confined to Tongatapu and Ha'apai, for within these two groups
climatic and soil conditions are broadly similar, but are different to
those in Vava'u.

LAND TENURE

423 The land-tenure system of Tonga is highly distinctive, differing in a
171 number of respects from the systems found in other parts of the
Pacific Islands. Every taxpayer (every male aged 16 years and over)
423 is entitled by law to an allotment of 3·2ha of agricultural land,
known as a tax allotment, as well as a small piece of land in a village
423 or town for his house. These allotments are granted to individuals
as a lifetime, inheritable leasehold from the Government, if on a
427 Government estate, or from the title-holder on a chiefly estate, and
no one may legally hold more than one allotment of each type.

423 In reality, however, many Tongan men do not have the allotment
to which they are entitled. In the 1966 Census only 8,305 or 41·6
423 per cent of all Tongan males aged 16 and over stated that they had
162 a tax allotment. Although this figure conflicts with the 1966 Report
127 of the Lands and Survey Department, which recorded the total
number of tax allotment holders in December 1966 as 12,517
(G. Rogers, 1969, 216), this latter figure is almost certainly incorrect.
423 A more detailed impression of landholding is given in Table 7.2,
128 which presents the results of a number of village studies. The table
shows that in only one village, Niutoua, did over half the taxpayers
have their legal entitlement, while in most villages a large proportion
592 of taxpayers and households had no land at all. It should be noted

Table 7.2 Land distribution: some village surveys, Tonga (*Sources:* Ha'afeva, Ha'avakatolo, Ha'akame and Niutoua, field survey by writer; 'Uiha, Koch (1955), 120—1); Nukunuku, field survey by R. G. Crocombe; Ha'ateiho, Nayacakalou (1959, 104). The figures for Ha'afeva and Niutoua are based on sample surveys.) 423 592

Village	*Persons/ km²*		0 %	0·5–1·4 %	1·5–2·6 %	2·7–3·8 %	3·9–6·2 %	6·3 *and over* %
Ha'afeva	264	H	43	10	28	12	7	—
1966		T	61	8	29	2	—	—
'Uiha	186	H	9	10	41	24	13	3
1952								
Ha'avakatolo	178	H	18	9	9	27	16	21
1962		T	45	4	9	22	11	9
Ha'akame	150	H	31	—	2	49	4	14
1962		T	55	—	1	37	4	3
Nukunuku	133	H	30	—	1	51	3	
1960		T	51	—	1	44	1	3
Ha'ateiho	110	H	25	—	—	58	—	17
1957								15
Nioutoua	70	H	3	—	—	66	—	31
1962		T	18	—	—	82	—	—

H = percentage of households.
T = percentage of taxpayers.

that a household in Tonga now generally consists of a nuclear family 592 or a nuclear family plus unmarried relatives of the husband or wife, and practically every household has at least one taxpayer, some of them having two or more.

One major reason for this discrepancy between the law and reality 423 in the holding of land is the simple fact that there are now more 161 taxpayers than allotments. The total number of allotments so far marked out is about 12,140, but in 1962,* when four of the village 162 surveys were carried out, there were already about 18,400 taxpayers,

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* Based on a count of allotments on the maps of the Lands and Survey Department, with every two blocks of less than 1·6 ha being combined to form one holding, as has been the practice in Ha'apai where many men have their holding split into two sections on different soil types. [127]

511 durable items which are mostly cooking utensils and tools.

794 511 (127) From church records I was able to obtain the exact amount contributed at the time of the annual church collection (misinale) by households. This information is presented in Table I5 but represents only a fraction of the total given during the year. A Although the annual collection represents the single largest donation for each year, smaller collections are taken at other times. During the annual collection church members also contribute goods, mostly storable vegetables, but I was not able to obtain information on these contributions.

794 592 626 511 Church contributions are made publicly in the Sunday services. The name of each household head is called, and a representative of that household steps to the front of the church and lays the contribution on a table which is in view of all present. This procedure results in almost everyone having knowledge about how much everyone else contributes. (554) A great deal of prestige is attached both to the act of giving and to giving large amounts.

434 511 Most physical needs of the Tongan peasant are met through his own efforts at cultivation, fishing, and collecting. Cash is only a small part of family income and is used to purchase goods and services which [871] cannot be secured through traditional means. For instance, the expenses [794] of education and church support can only be paid for with cash.[1] B

The Village Store

443 From the information I could obtain the first store in Puke was built in about 1908 by one of the villagers; then in 1912 a European

A.[See p. 81--Analyst] B. [For footnote, see p. 123--Analyst]
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 82]

74: Urbanowicz OU9 Tonga OU9

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[For general information on ethnohistory, see Category 121; for information concerning the author's use of ethnohistorical methodology, see Category 127.]

000 again in 1971, Harry and his charming wife Honour were exceedingly kind to my wife and me. In Honolulu, in July of 1970, Dr. Oliver kindly allowed me to examine his manuscript copy of his forthcoming three-volume work, Ancient Tahitian Society. I have profited from the brief glance at that work and our correspondence since then and look forward to the publication of his contribution to Polynesian ethnohistory.

●127 Research begins "at home" and I heartily acknowledge the staff of the University of Oregon Library, especially Mr. Rodney E. Christensen, Social Science Librarian.

The overseas period of this research began in July of 1970 and ended in October of 1971. The principal institution where research was conducted was the Mitchell Library of Sydney, Australia, where I did my
000 research almost continuously from November of 1970 to July of 1971. My thanks to the exceptional and outstanding research staff of the Mitchell Library and all of the friends my wife and I made: Miss Jenny Broomhead, Miss Yvonne Brown, Mr. Gold, Miss Judy Hill, Mr. Bill Keleher, Miss Maurene Kelleard, Miss Lea Kena, Mr. Christian Langeveldt, Miss Joy Lenthen, Miss Mandy Loretan, Miss Di Rhodes, Miss June Rowan, Miss Jan Stewart, and Miss Rosemary Winter. My appreciations are also extended to Mr. Warren Horton of the Mitchell Library and Miss S. Mourot, Librarian of the Mitchell Library. I would like to thank the Trustees of the Mitchell Library for permission to work with and cite their materials.

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000 which share the same building with the Mitchell Library. My appreciation also goes to Mrs. Joan Morrison of Sydney University Library.

127 I would like to thank the widow of the late Dr. Rev. E.E.V. Collocott for giving me permission to work with and cite his extensive Tongan manuscript collection held by the Mitchell Library; I would also like to thank the General Secretary of the Methodist Overseas Mission, the Rev. C. F. Gribble, for giving me permission to work with and cite the Methodist Overseas Mission materials held by the Mitchell Library.
000 In Sydney, in 1970, I met Saul Riesenberg and I would like to thank him and his charming wife Mildred for their encouragement and conversations.

127 In Australia in 1970 and 1971 I also conducted research at the Australian National Library, and on the campus of the Australian National University, both in Canberra. My appreciation goes to the staff of both institutions that I contacted. Special thanks to the faculty of the Department of Pacific History, of the Australian National University: they gave me free access to their facilities, including their archival resources. I also profited from conversations with, and suggestions from, the Professors J. W. Davidson, Neil Gunson, and Deryck Scarr of the Department of Pacific History. I also gained from my conversations with Mr. Robert Langdon, of the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau located in the Department of Pacific History; I also gained from conversations with Professor Jack Golson, and Les and Rosemary Groube, of the Department of Prehistory, Australian National University.

After leaving Australia in July of 1971, institutional research was conducted in New Zealand, and my thanks go to Miss Robyn Bell and

127 Mrs. Dorothy J. Reid of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. I would also like to thank the Trustees of the Alexander Turnbull Library for permission to work with and cite their materials. Elsewhere in New Zealand, I would like to thank Miss Janet M. Davidson of the Auckland War Memorial Museum, Auckland; Dr. Roger Duff, Director, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch; and the staff that assisted me at the libraries associated with the University of Canterbury, Christchurch; Victoria University, Wellington; and the University of Auckland.

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101 In 1970 and again in 1971 research was conducted in Tonga, and I
115 thank His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV for the many hours of his
115 time which he gave so freely to my wife and myself. Also in Tonga, I
must thank the Hon. Kalanivalu-Fotofili, aide-de-camp to His Majesty; I appreciate all of the information The Hon. Ve'ehala, Governor of Ha'apai Islands, provided me. My thanks also go to The Hon. Dr. S. L. Kavalikū, Minister of Education and Public Works, for the time he gave to me; my

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177 voyagers, and individuals connected with the voyages, made Europeans aware of Tonga and placed it on Europe's map of the world.

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[177] The various published accounts of the European voyagers, especially the descriptions made by Cook, spurred Europeans to send men to proselytize the peoples of the Pacific. Tonga, along with Tahiti, was one of the first island groups to be sent European missionaries in the late 18th Century. They were sent specifically to convert the indigenous Tongan population to Christianity. The first missionaries of the Missionary Society of London (formed in 1795), later termed the London Missionary Society, arrived on Tongatapu, April 10, 1797 (Benson 1960: 113; Wilson 1799: 96). Originally, ten male missionaries landed. Some remained until 1800, but the attempt at religious conver-
[563] sion ended in a debacle. One missionary, George Vason, married a Tongan woman and was converted to the anga-faka-Tonga or "Tongan way of life" (Vason 1810).[1]

797 The Wesleyan Missionary Society established a mission station on Tongatapu in August of 1822 manned by one missionary, Walter Lawry, who was accompanied by his wife and several European servants (*Vide* Lawry's Diary for August 1822). This attempt at Christian conversion ended in failure with Lawry and his wife departing the island in October of 1823 (*Ibid*., October 1823). In 1826 a second Wesleyan attempt at establishing a mission station on Tongatapu was made by the missionaries John
[177] Thomas and John Hutchinson and this mission proved successful. From 1826 onwards Tongans entered into sustained European contact.

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797 This research is based, primarily, on accounts, in English,

797 written by these Wesleyan missionaries who were in Tonga in the first
[127] half of the 19th Century, the period covered by this research. On the
[128] following page is a list of these missionaries with arrival and departure dates.

121

Perspectives

> Ethnohistory has come to mean many things to many people, and as the acceptance of the term has spread throughout the learned world the term has acquired new definitions according to the uses to which it is being put (Fenton 1966: 71).

> The emergence of ethnohistory as a recognized field of research is part of the rapprochement between anthropology and history in aims as well as in methods and techniques (Sturtevant 1966: 4).

The rapprochement comes from the fact that the "ethno-" in ethnohistory has the same referent as the "ethno-" in ethnography: it stands for a particular group of people. The "history" in ethnohistory stands for the application of historical method to documents for a specific ethnographic problem. Although every ethnohistorian is first an ethnographer, ethnohistory cannot be called ethnography; and although ethnohistory draws on historical methods, it cannot be called history.

Historical method is a logical process of checking descriptions recorded in the past. It is a scientific process, if by science we mean "capable of ascertaining demonstrable fact" and "if by fact is meant a detail derived from a critical examination of historical documents rather than a detail of past actuality" (Gottschalk 1950: 193; Vide Sturtevant 1966: 4). Because the historical method is to some extent

121 128 to manuscript materials, and how those materials are used for ethnohistorical purposes despite certain limitations in quantity and quality (vide Dening 1966: 27).

121 In stressing the "methodology of an ethnographic reconstruction" I follow Kaplan who writes that methodology means "the study--the description, the explanation, and the justification--of methods" (A. Kaplan 1964: 12). The aim of methodology is to:

> describe and analyze these methods, throwing light on their limitations and resources, clarifying their presuppositions and consequences, relating their potentialities to the twilight zone at the frontiers of knowledge (Ibid.: 23).[3]

Manuscript

127 Every ethnohistorical researcher must ask the following questions for his particular research problem: What data are available? Where are the data located? What is the format of the data? And who was the eyewitness who produced the data? When working with manuscript sources, the researcher must consider the completeness or regularity of the descriptions in the manuscript. The eventual selection of manuscript examined is determined by the hypothesized problem and the resources of time and money.

For this research manuscript materials on Tonga were examined. The Wesleyan missionaries who worked in Tonga in the early part of the 19th Century left behind a great deal of manuscript in English and the main body of manuscript was located in the Mitchell Library of Sydney, Australia. I knew the manuscript materials were located in the

Mitchell Library as a result of various reading (Vide Leeson 1936: 48-50; Keesing 1953: 86-89; and Latukefu 1966). Correspondence with representatives of the Mitchell Library also provided me with information on the Library's Tongan manuscript materials.

In selecting, collecting, and organizing the manuscript materials at the Mitchell Library in 1970 and 1971, my primary concern was to gather all of the available manuscript pertaining to early 19th Century Tonga. Because of the amount of extant Wesleyan manuscript materials I had sufficient time to read all of the items which are listed in the manuscript bibliography (pp. 98ff.). The researcher approaches the manuscript with a specific problem in mind and reads and analyzes the manuscript for specific descriptions pertaining to the problem. The ethnohistorical researcher does not evaluate an entire manuscript document but only particular descriptions within the document (Vide Gottschalk 1945: 7). The specifics of this ethnohistorical method are described in the following chapters but it is first necessary to describe the Wesleyan manuscript materials.

A manuscript is essentially a document that has been written by hand, a holographic account. Not only must the type of manuscript be considered (letter, journal, official record or correspondence), but its condition: Is it a holographic original, or a typescript copy of a holographic original? Is the manuscript written on the original paper or is it merely a copy (such as a photocopy or microfilm) of the original document? The ethnohistorical researcher may have to consider the language of the manuscript, i.e., does one have to translate or read

127 translations of the manuscript? The spelling and handwriting of the author of the document must also be considered, since misinterpretations of words due to spelling or handwriting can lead to an erroneous state-
127 ment of ethnohistorical fact. As the missionaries increased the length of their stay in Tonga they gradually systematized their orthography, but orthographic or spelling variations encountered in the manuscript were numerous, both in English words and the missionaries' transcription of Tongan words.

[212] One cannot criticize the 19th Century Wesleyans for the orthographic variations since it was not until 1943 that the Tongan Government
127 finally standardized the Tongan alphabet (Churchward 1953: viii). The
104 sound once transcribed with the letter "b" is now written with the letter "p" and the name "Tubou" as recorded by some European observers and some Tongans, is now written as "Tupou." Similarly, the sound once written as "g" is now written with "ng" and pronounced accordingly, as it always had been pronounced. "Tonga" was once transcribed as "Toga."

127 The various primary documentary sources (both published and manuscript) of the 19th Century had numerous spelling variations. The individual "Taufa" of the area known as "Pea" is recorded as "Taoofa" of the "Bea" (Lawry, Diary, January 23, 1823), or "Tahoofa" (Thomas, Journal, May 15, 1827). The individual "Fakafanua" of the area known as "Ma'ufanga" is "Fucanooa" of "Mafanga" in Lawry's account (Diary, August 22, 1822). The individual known as the Tu'i Ha'ateiho is re-
[104] corded as "Tuiateho" (Webb, Letter, January 2, 1844). In addition to spelling variations, the letter which appears in the manuscript sources

127 as "J" can stand at times for the sound "J" as in "Jiosala," or the
104 sound "G" as in "Jioaji" for "George" or as the sound "S" as in "Inaji." This final term is currently transcribed as *'Inasi*.

The 19th Century accounts often omitted the symbol for glotal closure in a word, now represented by the hamza (the inverted comma or '). The spelling of "Tuiateho" for the current spelling of *Tu'i Ha'ateiho* is one such example; the title *Tu'i Tonga* was once recorded as "Tui Toga."[4]

128 All of the orthographic variations as recorded in the original sources have been maintained throughout the citations, without the seemingly appropriate *sic* interjected into the description. Where necessary, explanations of gross orthographic anomalies are made for clarification. Neither have I made any grammatical or punctuational corrections. When the Wesleyan missionary John Thomas wrote that "...and has he feels satisfied..." (Letter-Journal, July 23, 1833), Thomas wrote "has" instead of "as" in the sentence in question (cited in full on page 72). When the ampersand is used as in "&c" or simply as "&," this is the way it was written in the original document. Particularly, when any documentary sources capitalize any words or stress or underscore any words, I follow suit when making direct citations.

127 The ethnohistorical researcher should maintain the original language found in the documents for two reasons: The first reason is that it maintains the flavor, setting, and time period of the original citation. Maintaining the original language stresses the context of the word within the original description (*Vide* Washburn 1957: xi).

●127 The second reason is that it allows the researcher and reader to avoid possible misinterpretations of the words in the description. This stresses the content of the word within the original description.

The only way the ethnohistorical researcher can possibly recognize a variation on a word in a document as having a meaningful referent is because the researcher has the requisite ethnographic-ethnological background knowledge about the culture. The only way I knew that the Wesleyan transcription "Tulateho" had a possible Tongan referent was because I had prior knowledge of the important title Tu'i Ha'ateiho from being in Tonga and reading ethnographic works (Vide Gifford 1929; Kaeppler 1971: 186). This ethnographic knowledge is vital to an ethnohistorical researcher: the ethnohistorian is first an ethnographer or ethnologist. One cannot be an effective ethnohistorian or "apply ethnohistorical method effectively without a sound ethnological foundation for research" (Lurie 1961: 84).

The ethnohistorical researcher combines ethnographic knowledge of a particular society, often derived from field work in the contemporary society and the reading of published materials, with the application of historical method to documentary sources (Dodge 1968: 9; Lurie 1961: 87; and Valentine 1960: 27). The method of ethnohistory is discussed in the following chapter.

121 In order to determine what could possibly be used as evidence, the historical method requires that the historian consider the personality and background of the author of the document: what was the purpose of the author in making the document in the first place? And what were the biases or prejudices that might have influenced that which the author recorded in the document? He must consider whether or not the author was actually an eyewitness of the event or did the author of the document receive his information from someone else? (Gottschalk 1950: 118-171).

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Tongan Ethnohistorical Materials

797 The manuscript materials of the Wesleyan missionaries which I examined were not originally recorded for historical nor ethnographic purposes. The missionaries kept records during their stay in Tonga because of organizational requirements, as the Missionary Watkin states:

> In compliance with the 'requirement' I proceed to make extracts from my journal, which may serve to show the present state of this Mission, and the proceedings of the Missionary who occupies it (Watkin, Letter-Journal, April 10, 1833).

Not all Wesleyan manuscript accounts, however, were simply records of their stay in Tonga. After a certain length of stay in the islands, some of the Wesleyan missionaries set out to elicit specific information from the Tongans. The Wesleyans were familiar with certain of the publications of the time which had information on Tonga, including Cook's published accounts, early missionary accounts (both of the London Missionary Society for the 1797-1800 venture, and Lawry's

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published accounts of his 1822-1823 stay), and Mariner's work entitled An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean (1817) which documented Mariner's 1806-1810 stay (Thomas, Journal, September 4, 1826). Using these publications as guides, some missionaries gathered specific information. Thomas wrote:

> I went to consult an old Vavau chief today who lives at Tava on some matters of Tonga history recorded by Mr. Mariner which I have been led to view as wrong. I have obtained confirmation in some things--and considerable information in some others (Thomas, Journal, January 22, 1850).

The Wesleyan missionary, Cross, wrote a detailed description of aboriginal Tongan religious beliefs. He summarized the account with the following:

> The above is the substance of what I have obtained from a Tonga chief. I took it down from his lips in the Tonga language. I have read the same to our chief Tubou & some others who say it is correct. That this is what they beliefed before they knew better, but now they are all very much ashamed of it (Cross, Letter, November 1831).

Cross, Thomas, and other Wesleyan missionaries gathered information for their manuscript accounts not only by being eyewitness to Tongan social and cultural behavior, but also by using the native language to elicit specific information on Tongan history (or "past events"), religion, and other matters. It seems only natural that after a time in the archipelago they became sufficiently involved and interested in the Tongans to try and elicit more information about them to satisfy their own curiosity as well as provide knowledge needed for the success of the mission. It must be made clear, however, that although the Wesleyan interests may appear to have been ethnographic when they gathered

127 specific information, neither their methods nor purposes were, and
797 their descriptions are in no way to be equated with those descriptions
made by a trained ethnographer.

Some of the missionaries did make records for eventual publications and the purpose of the various manuscript accounts had to be considered while reading them for specific ethnographic information, as well as any biases of the missionaries due to their purposes for being in the archipelago. The Wesleyan missionaries were not sent to Tonga to describe and record aboriginal Tonga society for posterity but to change aboriginal Tongan religion and society. The missionaries did not set out to systematically record Tongan social and cultural behavior, but they did set out to systematically interact and influence Tongan social and cultural behavior.

127 The researcher must consider the type of distortions which might be introduced into the missionary descriptions due to biases and attempt to control for those biases. He hopes to control for the biases by attempting to understand what it was that the missionaries were doing in the archipelago and how they went about in doing it. The researcher must read all of the pertinent extant manuscript materials to get a wide range of descriptions of Tongan society by various missionaries at various points in time. He must consider the attitude of the
127 Wesleyans to the Tongans. One missionary wrote:

> 797 I am much tempted to be displeased with the natives;
> 181 some of them are so unreasonable in their demands,
> [461] if we want them to work. We are much teazed for want
> of servants. I cannot tell how it is that servants
> are so difficult to be got. I am afraid there is

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> much idleness, and a want of love among the people. They think themselves quite demeaned by living with a missionary as servants (Turner, Journal, September 11, 1839).

Religious matters were all important to the missionaries and as 127 797 such the Wesleyan accounts often provided detailed descriptions of aboriginal religious beliefs. These detailed Wesleyan descriptions may be compared with other similar missionary descriptions and the researcher may make inferences concerning the capabilities of the Wesleyan as recorder as well as inferences about aboriginal religious beliefs. Cross 127 797 wrote:

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> The Tonga gods or the gods of the Tonguese are almost innumerable. They have made themselves gods of men, birds, beasts & fishes, of vegetables, wood & stone, whales teeth, &c (Cross, Letter, November 1831).

Another missionary wrote of the Tongans that they had "gods irrational and inanimate swell [ing] the number to an almost Grecian amount" (Watkin, Journal, February 4, 1836). Another time he wrote that these gods included "a whales tooth" which was once "the object of worship" 127 (Ibid., August 23, 1834). The fact that the tooth of a whale could be 797 viewed as a deity was reported by other Wesleyan missionaries:

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> Today arrived Kelebi Fullilagi from Haabai bringing us a letter from the brethren of a very pleasing nature. By this opportunity I received a Tonga god name Eiku-tubu, from the great Chief the Tammaha. This god is a whales tooth, wrapped in a fine mat which they call Tuoua (Thomas, Letter-Journal, entry of August 20, 1833).

> ...and had two gods presented to me, which were formerly of great note here, one of them was given to me by the Tamaha, and the other by another chief of high rank. Idol gods are a very scarce commodity here now, the Tamaha sent me one a short time ago which was called her grandfather, it is a small tooth of a whale (Tucker, Letter, February 13, 1836).

● 127 These descriptions by Cross, Watkin, Thomas, and Tucker on separate occasions leads me to believe that they knew what they were reporting concerning aboriginal Tongan religious beliefs. I make this decision on the basis of the missionary descriptions themselves as well as professional ethnographic descriptions of aboriginal Polynesian religious beliefs, including statements made in reference to Tonga.

Limitations

The implicit limitations in the historical method must be made clear: If the descriptions were not recorded in the first place, the researcher has no way tc fill in the gaps in the manuscript account. The Becker (p. 30) and Collingwood (p. 31) citations make clear that the historian does not work with his own observations of events but with the descriptions of others. The historical method thus involves weighing and assessing these descriptions.

There are limitations in the documents but they are not the limitations of historical method. If the researcher merely comes across an isolated description by the Wesleyan missionary on aboriginal Tongan religious beliefs, sufficient testimony must be sought before that description can be accepted as a factual statement of aboriginal Tonga. The above Cross _et_. _al_. examples are indicative of the type of cross-checking utilized, but the assumption is implicit that the missionaries made accurate descriptions, and that there was a Tongan referent for
127 their descriptions. The longer the length of stay of the missionaries
797 in the archipelago, the greater were their observational capabilities.

127 797 Thomas, who was in the islands for almost thirty years is an example of one individual who gradually sharpened and developed his reporting capabilities. Thomas not only kept journals and wrote letters, but eventually wrote a manuscript "history" of the Tongans.

The amount of detail present in an individual Wesleyan account could also be tempered by other individuals in the islands at the time. The Wesleyan missionaries often profited from the various Europeans who had been living in the archipelago prior to their arrival. In 1822, Lawry was assisted by a European who had been living in Tonga since 1806. The European, Singleton, had escaped the sacking of the Port-au-Prince. Lawry wrote:

> From a roomful of chiefs with Singleton interpreting I have learned the number and names of all the Friendly Islands, being 188 in all. Belonging to Tonga there are 45--belonging to the Hapais 51, and the Vavous 92--total 188 (Lawry, Diary, October 14, 1822).

In 1827 Thomas wrote in his journal how he had been aided by a European living in the islands since 1820:

[669] [643]

> I learn from a young man here, an Englishman, that Tonga at this time is principally in the possession of petty chiefs. Some few years ago the great men departed this life and some were killed--even the kings family now have no power--but these chiefs fought and defended Tonga and they now possess the parts they have thus rescued from their enemies, so that at this time they seem much confused, having no head man (Thomas, Journal, January 30, 1827).

[563] [565] These Europeans knew the native language, often married into a high-ranking Tongan family, or were adopted by a Tongan chief. They were extremely helpful to the missionaries in getting settled, and the 127 missionary descriptions are strengthened by these additions. However,

127 this is one limitation that must be considered: how much did the missionaries actually see and how much was heresay from other Europeans? The only way this can be checked is by constant reading of the accounts and seeing whether or not the missionaries actually acknowledged the help of Europeans. In this instance, the Wesleyan missionaries made such an acknowledgement but in other accounts they may not have and the researcher must take this limitation into consideration.

127 797 Because of the Wesleyan's religious bias, they frowned upon amusements, sports, dancing and games. Their accounts are sparse on these aspects of aboriginal Tongan life and this is one limitation for which there is no solution: if the observer did not like what he saw and did not record it, it simply is not there. The following statement by Watkin is an isolated description of aboriginal tatooing practices:

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> On my return this evening I found the artist whose work it was to perform the operation of tatooing the persons of the Islands during the reign of idolatry. They then thought that it imparted a higher degree of personal beauty to such as underwent the painful operation, and there are some who wish to imitate their predecessors such is force of custom, although the idea that it is wrong pretty generally prevails (Watkin, Journal, April 1834).

127 797 The following description by Dyson, of the aboriginal game termed lafo is another isolated statement in the manuscript:

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> An amusement called the "lafo" has just reappeared in this town. The manner in which it is performed is as follows. Four natives usually engage in it at once. Each has a pc. of a nut shell wh. he pitches across a mat & the two who lost have to give the other two a basket of food. The Leaders at our Mtg. called my attention to it today. I went immediately to the Governor & he said it was unlawful & would punish the persons who did it.

> 127 797 525 524 It is the native way of gambling. They have 10 small parts of nut shells--in two fives. Each shell of the 5 is larger than the upper one--downwards. The smallest is called Tukumua, the 2nd Hiliga-hikumua, the 3rd Lautaki, the 4th Toekeuloto the 5th Toekai. The mat is about 6 x 3 ft & during the game is raised round the edges. When the shells are pitched beyond the edge the game is lost, if they cross without falling over that is counted for the winner. It is attended with much evil & the only object is to gain food or property by hazard (Dyson, Journal, July 6, 1868).

127 797 Although the Wesleyans had a distaste for amusements (Vide Latukefu 1967: 129-130), in this instance Dyson recorded the game in depth.

The Wesleyans also interacted with the Tongan body politic (Latukefu 1967: 537-538; Hammer 1952: 170-171), and a basic limitation of the research was the Wesleyan attitude to certain Tongan social and 127 cultural behavior concerning the political structure. The researcher must ask the question of the manuscript: how would the Wesleyans describe aboriginal political structure in light of the overt Wesleyan influence on that political structure? Did the Wesleyans really understand the inextricable interconnections of Tongan religion, politics and kinship? The researcher is familiar with this connection from previous historical and ethnographic accounts, but did the Wesleyans comprehend it?

127 797 643 The Wesleyans set out to replace the aboriginal religious structure with Western beliefs. One of the major proponents of the aboriginal religious and political structure was the individual known as the Tu'i Tonga (Chief or ruler of all of Tonga). The Wesleyan descriptions of this individual must be carefully assessed, since the Tu'i Tonga was attempting to uphold the old faith while the Wesleyans were trying to

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643 replace it. The following descriptions provide the researcher with some ethnographic information, but he must compensate for the prejudices of the authors and be aware of Watkin and Rabone's role as missionary in the archipelago:

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> In this week we have been visited by the high priest of the Island whose title is Tui-Toga, he was present at our family worship so that their prejudices are giving way we hope, his revenues are very much abridged by the falling off of this part of the Island [Tongatapu], and the defalcation of Haabai and Vavau so that he is likely to become a poor man possessing only the Nobility of his descent, and in this Country as in countries more refined there are some who delude themselves upon the superiority of their blood to that of the common herd, tho their possessions may be smaller (Watkin, Journal, August 15, 1830).
>
> This afternoon the Tui Toga arrived here on a visit. This is the greatest personage in this Island but what a creature of imagination. What a monstrous cypher. He had a handful of people only, can not speak a word in reference to the Government of the Island, nor anything that concerns it. It is not lawful to eat in his presence or at least not to face him in eating or drinking. And there is language only applicable to this useless being--as much utility to the Island as a large mole to a man's face (Rabone, Journal, February 10, 1838).

127 In these Wesleyan descriptions, the researcher not only gets information on the Tu'i Tonga, but also information on the attitudes of the Wesleyans.

Ethnohistorical research, culminating in a synchronic historical ethnography, must be based on the documents of the time period: the documents of the first European eyewitness to aboriginal Polynesian life. Because these eyewitnesses were not trained ethnographers, specific guidelines are needed for the ethnographer to draw ethnographic evidence from non-ethnographic documents. The limitations inherent in

127 documents written by non-ethnographers must be made explicit, and the manner in which those limitations are hopefully compensated for: testing of individual statements; cross-checking with known ethnographic evidence; reading as many of the extant manuscript accounts as possible; and taking into consideration the role and purpose of the eyewitness in writing the document in the first place, as well as the interaction patterns of the European observer to the aboriginal observed.

There are certain aspects of historical method which are not appropriate for the ethnohistorical researcher, although the ethnohistorical researcher must be aware of them: I accepted the Tongan manuscript as being authentic Wesleyan documentation because it had been previously accepted by the research institutions as being authentic Wesleyan documents but also because I knew who the Wesleyan missionaries were who were in Tonga.

Range

One type of manuscript source I examined was the journal or diary, essentially the same thing but given one labor or the other by
127 the original compiler. These journals or diaries were records or
797 descriptions of daily activities of both the missionary and Tongans, kept on a day-by-day basis as determined by the entry dates of descriptions. These journal accounts represented the "core" of the missionaries personal record keeping. From them the missionaries drew specific information to meet the "requirements" Watkin described, namely an accounting of the progress of the mission.

●127 Journal descriptions are given high priority by ethnohistorical researchers for several reasons: they are personal descriptions written with no intended audience in mind and for this reason they allow the researcher to gain insight into the character of the observer; secondly, if journals are kept consistently this allows the researcher to analyze the shift in perspective and attitude of the observer to the observed, and the researcher also obtains a variety of descriptions; most important, these journal descriptions may have greater validity than other types of manuscript accounts since "the closer the time of making a document was to the event it records, the better it is likely to be for [ethno] historical purposes" (Gottschalk 1950: 90; vide Urban 1955: 17).

A limitation which the researcher must consider, although it cannot be overcome, is inherent in the daily record itself: did the author actually fill in the journal on that day? If not, did he wait a few days and make comparisons with other missionaries? If so, did subsequent events influence the missionary's description of what previously occurred? There is no simple way to get around this limitation, save to read the accounts carefully and compare alternative descriptions.
127 It is highly unlikely that individuals stationed in separate parts of
797 the archipelago would make comparisons before writing their accounts; and from the content of the journals themselves, and the documented personality conflicts between some of the missionaries, I inferred that it was unlikely that those missionaries stationed near one another would compare descriptions of Tongan social and cultural behavior. (See, for example, Thomas' Personal Journal for November of 1827 for his problems

127 with Hutchinson, and also his Journal for July 4, 1826; and Watkin's
797 Journal of April 18, 1837, for his problems with Hobbs.)

In addition to a daily journal, usually a foolscap-sized notebook, some of the Wesleyan missionaries kept a private or personal journal. This latter journal was often a small pocket-sized notebook filled in at irregular intervals. Many missionaries found it difficult to keep up a daily journal as well as a private journal and Turner, as an example, wrote:

> My private journal witnesses against me. All is not right. I am tempted to think I cannot keep two journals for want of time (Turner, Private Journal, February 13, 1836).

Where his daily journal would be filled in regularly, the last four entries for Turner's private journal, before he completely abandoned it, were: April 25, 1836; February 27, 1837; March 5 and March 24, 1837. The Wesleyan missionary, John Thomas, also kept a daily journal and a personal journal. An example of the irregularity of the entries of his personal journal are: March 3, 1833; May 25, 1833; May 30, 1833; July 21, 1833; November 7, 1833; and March 1834.

127 The private or personal journal was often a record of a missionary's introspection, and while some descriptions of an ethnographic nature were recorded in this type of personal journal, it was neither quantitatively nor qualitatively comparable to the descriptions in the daily journal. The ethnohistorical researcher needs factual descriptions of Tongan social and cultural behavior, recorded consistently, to eventually make statements of ethnohistorical fact. The personal or private journals, however, added information concerning the interaction patterns

127 of the missionaries to one another and allowed me to make inferences concerning the role of the missionaries: to one another and to the Tongans (Vide Thomas, Personal Journal, November 20, 1827; April 11, 1830; and January 15, 1831).

127 797 Another type of manuscript source I examined were the letters, letter-books, and letter-journals written by the Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga. Letter-books contained either preliminary drafts or copies of letters. The letter-journals were descriptive accounts of the missionary's stay in the islands which he copied from his own daily journal into letter form. These letter-journals were sent to London as part of the documentary evidence of the religious work in the islands. Often these letter-journals were edited and printed in a Wesleyan publication in London.

127 The ethnohistorical researcher cannot rely upon the published letter-journal accounts for entirely valid descriptions. This is because (1) the author of the letter-journal based the letter-journal account on his own daily journal, and hence made selections of material to suit his own purposes; (2) the editor to whom the author sent his letter-journal frequently made editorial changes for various reasons.

I read and compared various holographic letter-journals on microfilm with their eventual published counterparts. Such comparison revealed editorial excisions that were made in the missionary description prior to publication in the Wesleyan magazine. As an example, a published letter-journal of Thomas has the following:

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> While I was out, Mrs. Thomas visited Papa, who made many inquiries respecting the soul of her son [ ]; and when Mrs. Thomas told her that his spirit was

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> not lying in the ground, as they thought, but was gone to Jehovah, she seemed much pleased (Thomas, Wesleyan Methodist Notices, 1829-1831: 311).

775 In his original holographic account, Thomas also had the following information which would have appeared between the brackets, if no editing had taken place:

> according to the Tonga notion the soul would remain two or three days at least near the body before it departed and then it would go to a place they call Bulotu (Thomas, Letter-Journal, January 14, 1829).

The researcher can only speculate as to why this was edited out of the published version, but the edited portion was, in this instance, of ethnographic importance since Bulotu, or Pulotu, was an important part of aboriginal Tongan religious beliefs.

127 Reading and comparing holographic letter-journal accounts with their published counterparts revealed not only editorial excisions but also editorial additions and changes in some missionary descriptions.
127 In a published letter-journal account of Thomas, the following phrase
565 appears: "Tubou, the chief of this place, and Governor of Tonga"
634 (Thomas 1829-1831: 421). Thomas was referring to Jiosala Tupou and
797 only to the island of Tongatapu, since other parts of the archipelago were under different chiefs. The original holographic letter-journal which Thomas submitted for publication, did not have the word "governor" in it. Jiosala was merely the chief of a particular location on Tongatapu, but the published account embellished on his position apparently for purposes of the Mission's prestige (Thomas, Letter-Journal, January 10, 1830).

127 I examined the holographic letters of the missionaries and found
797 they did not contain as much ethnographic description as the daily
journal accounts. The letters contained information about the minutiae
of the missionary's daily life, business reports on the activity of the
Mission, queries about family and friends at home, and occasionally a
127 Tongan description. One example of some ethnographic information was
797 found in a P.S. dated April 19 to a letter Thomas had originally begun
644 on the 12th of February, 1841. Thomas wrote "our queen Charlotte, has
127 just brought forth a Son, a heir. George is much pleased with him"
797 (Thomas, Letter, February 12, 1841). The "George" was George Tupou,
644 later known as King George Tupou I, and "Charlotte" was the name of his
643 fifth and final Tongan wife. George and Charlotte had been married by
the Wesleyan minister Watkin in March of 1834 (Watkin, Journal, March
27, 1834) and in September Watkin wrote "the Queen was baptized
127 Charlotte" (*Ibid*., September 23, 1834). Cross-checking with extant
[644] Tongan genealogies revealed that Charlotte's original Tongan name was
Lupe Pau'u and the son born in 1841 was named Vuna (Collocott n.d. I:
17). When Vuna was described in subsequent missionary accounts I knew
his age because I knew the year of his birth (*Vide* Firth, Letter,
February 21, 1862; and March 24, 1862).

127 Another type of manuscript account which I read was the specific
797 "histories" of the Wesleyan missionary, John Thomas. Thomas was in the
archipelago twice, from 1826 to 1850, and again from 1855 to 1859. On
February 21 of 1850 he left the archipelago for England. While en
route he began to write up his journal and notes for "a more full and

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
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127 complete account of the mythology--wars--&c of the Tongan people than
797 has ever appeared" (Thomas, Journal, November 8, 1850). In addition to his numerous Journal accounts and letters, Thomas wrote a 244-page history (MS. 4 in the Bibliography, p. 103). The last page of the history is dated March 30, 1854, and so it was completed before his second stay in the Islands began. During his 1855-1859 stay in the Islands, he gathered additional information and revised this 244-page history, and when he returned to England he wrote a 1319-page work entitled'Tongatabu or the Friendly Islands'(MS. 1a, pp. 1-677; MS. 1b to p. 1319). A check of my bibliography will reveal other works by Thomas of this variety: non-journal or non-letter accounts.

127 These "histories" of Thomas provided additional information, often of an ethnographic nature, which were checked with other descriptions by various missionaries. Examples drawn from Thomas' histories are given in Chapter Five. These histories are not comparable to his own journal entries, since they were written years after the fact, but they are useful in that they can be checked with the journal entries to see how much Thomas added to the history accounts and they do provide additional ethnographic information which may be tested (by cross-checking) for its value as ethnographic evidence.

An additional type of manuscript which I read was the typescript manuscript, such as Lawry's diary and Stephenson's diary. In the cases of Lawry and Stephenson, the typewritten copy was made by someone other than the original authors. In many instances, this was done because certain early 19th Century paper, on which journals were kept, were

●127 disintegrating by the 20th Century. Another kind of typescript manuscript is obviously of 20th Century origin: the author types his own manuscript account. An instance of this type of 20th Century typescript is Collocott's King Taufa (475-page typescript).

Reading 20th Century typescript copies of 19th Century holographic missionary accounts is easier for the researcher. However, the person who made the typewritten account from the holographic original introduces another variable into the research: did the typist accurately transcribe what was in the original? If both the holographic and typescript copy are not available, the researcher cannot check on possible typing errors or misinterpretations in the typescript account. Such is the case with the Lawry typescript diary: the original is not available and there are some questionable typed words in the typescript copy for which I knew no referent.

A similar problem appears in the Stephenson typescript diary, but fortunately, the original was available for cross-checking. Below is an example of the typescript account and my interpretation of the holographic original:

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Holographic	Typescript
Vuna--wishing to do all state honor to him they have dispatched Tukuofo and taken Gatu Gafi Gafi &c & present to the dead--an old heathen practise....	Fiaue--wishing to do state honor to him they have dispatched - S Tu Ruofo and taken Gatu -afi - Afi &c to the dead--an old heathern practise....

If the researcher only had the typescript account for this entry of January 15 and 16, 1862, for Stephenson's diary, "S Tu Ruofo" could be somewhat difficult to interpret, for this stood for the holographic word

127 768 tukuofo, not a presentation to the deceased but the redistribution of material goods among the relatives of the deceased. In this account, it was the "Gatu" or ngatu, Tongan cloth, and ngafingafi, or finely woven mats.

127 For the same date, the Tongan personal name of "Tevita Niukabu" appears in the holographic account; the typescript account records this name as "Tonto Sinkalu." The fact is granted that handwritten accounts can be diffucult to read, but the researcher accustoms himself to orthographic variations as much as possible. If the researcher has sufficient ethnographic knowledge, and the context of the description is self-evident, one can perhaps interpret the typescript funerary term "S Tu Ruofo" to mean tukuofo. But how does one identify "Tonto Sinkalu?"

127 797 Additional miscellaneous manuscript accounts were read. These included such items as the Wesleyan Minute Book of Tonga (1827-1849), which listed the minutes of various meetings held in the archipelago by the missionaries. Virtually no ethnographic description was contained in them. Various business letters of the missionaries, also read, contained a small amount of ethnographic descriptions. These letters were, for the most part, status reports on the Mission, supply requests, and reports on the morale and behavior of the missionaries.

127 Not only are there certain limitations inherent in the manuscripts themselves, but there are also decided limitations in the quantity and quality of ethnographic information in the accounts. There is a definite limit to the number of manuscript materials for any one

127 society (Vide Fenton 1962: 11; Lurie 1961: 89). For the Tongan materials I gathered and analyzed as extensive a corpus of early 19th Century manuscript materials as possible.

121 Even though emphasis in this work is on the application of ethnohistorical method to manuscript, ethnohistorical facts may be derived from several sources. As Vansina has written, "there is no simple rule of 'hard' as opposed to 'soft' data for ethnohistory" (Vansina 1970: 67; also see Vansina 1961, 1965: 10ff.). An ethnohistorical fact is a statement made by an ethnohistorian after critical analysis of evidence in reference to a particular society in the past. A specific ethnohistorical fact may be made after an analysis of oral traditions (as Vansina has demonstrated), after comparing languages, or after analysis of archaeological remains.[6]

127 For manuscript as discussed in this work, an ethnohistorical fact is the ethnohistorian's statement based on tested and proven descriptions, accepted as ethnographic evidence, extracted from the manuscript. One accepts the descriptions as ethnographic evidence of the past only after critical comparison of known and accepted ethnographic evidence with the 19th century eyewitness descriptions. This means that the ethnohistorical researcher must have the requisite ethnographic knowledge about the society being studied and also knowledge on the application of historical method to documents that were not necessarily written for ethnographic purposes. The 19th century descriptions made by the Wesleyans are only accepted as potential ethnohistorical facts of the past after applying ethnographic-ethnological knowledge and

127 concepts to the descriptions (*Vide* Fenton 1966: 75; Lurie 1961).

The ethnohistorical researcher often combines archival research with ethnographic field work in the society (*Vide* Dodge 1968: 9; Lurie 1961: 87; Gunson 1963: 417; and Cohn 1968). For the Tongan research I went to Tonga not only to see what the present day society was like but also to gather some specific information based on questions raised in the course of reading. En route to Australia in 1970 I assessed the quantity and quality of the Tongan archival materials for my specific ethnographic reconstruction problem. Returning to Tonga in 1971 I cross-checked some ethnographic information in the 19th Century manuscript with 20th Century Tongan interpretations of the past. 127 124 This ethnographic information included questions on Tongan historical events of the 19th Century and comparisons of manuscript and genealogical data gathered in Australia with both written and verbal genealogies in Tonga.

Thomas recorded a vast range of miscellaneous information and in 1971 I queried some Tongans about some of his statements. As an 127 825 example, at one point in his Journal Thomas wrote:

> The reason why the whales are said to come so near land at this time is--that this is the yam planting season--viz. digging holes in the soil for the yams to grow in. It is said that many *worms* are now out & destroyed and as the whale considers the worm as his tama sympathy is supplied to bring them near (Thomas, Journal, September 21, 1848).

The term *tama* has as its referent, a child, especially a son, and also [124] "fellow one,--even of animals, fish, etc." (Churchward 1959: 451). In 1971, while in Tonga, I queried some Tongans about whaling practices and myths concerning them. The Tongans I spoke to had never heard of

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[825]
[124]

this story, yet it sounded 'logical' to some. Whether or not I can eventually accept Thomas' description for a statement of ethnohistorical fact on Tongan mythology remains to be seen, since this is the only instance I had recorded an extract of this type from the manuscript accounts. But ethnohistorical researchers can gather information recorded in the past, ask the natives for contemporary descriptions, and see what is the correlation between the descriptions.

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Tongan ethnohistorical information of the 19th Century must be considered not only in the context of aboriginal Tongan society but also in the context of aboriginal Polynesian society. Do the missionary descriptions "make sense" in the context of what is known and accepted for other Polynesian societies? The missionaries frequently wrote of 'otua and in his 1826 account, Thomas wrote of the "hootooa or spirit." A 19th Century Wesleyan dictionary transcribed the term as "Otua" and defines it as "God" (Rabone 1845: 20). Other checks for external consistency may be made on this term. Mariner's 1817 work on Tonga, which the missionaries had access to, had: "God (a spirit of any kind). Hotooa" (Mariner 1817, II: no page). Cross-checking Mariner's own vocabulary one finds:

> Hotoo'a. An immaterial being, as a god, spirit, soul, apparition or phantom; also any evil coming, as it were, by the infliction of the gods; a bodily complaint; a boil. This word is also sometimes applied to foreigners (Ibid.).

In Mariner's slightly revised edition of 1827, the following is found:

> Hootooa. An immaterial being, as a god, spirit, &c., also any evil by the infliction of the gods, a bodily complaint, a boil. This word sometimes applies to foreigners (Mariner 1827, II: lxxii).

127 192 776 775 [197] "Hootooa" or "Otua" is currently transcribed as 'otua and defined as "object of worship, deity, god; (cap.) God" (Churchward 1959: 567), and the term also appears as a cognate in other parts of Polynesia (Vide Williamson 1937: 9ff.).

For purposes of checking on Thomas' own internal consistency in describing the 'otua, his 1826 statement must be compared with his following entry from 1828: "Otua's, or the devil as they call their god" (Thomas, Journal, August 21, 1828). At one point in time Thomas thus refers to the 'otua as a "spirit" (1826) and elsewhere as the aboriginal Tongan "Devil" or aboriginal "god" (1828). 127 192 776 775 797 Where Thomas' two descriptions would appear to be inconsistent descriptions, but consistent in the context of Wesleyan interpretations of aboriginal Tongan religious beliefs, the ethnographic inconsistency is reconciled when other Wesleyan missionary descriptions of the time period are considered: Tongans believed that after death certain Tongans came back as spirits, and these were viewed as gods. The Wesleyan missionary Lawry provides the ethnohistorical researcher with an additional description, and also an external consistency check of Thomas, with his own description on 'otua or "Atuas."

> I cannot learn that they have any knowledge of the One True God--these Atuas are the souls of departed chiefs (Lawry, Diary, October 9, 1822).

The Wesleyan missionary Watkin provides a description which serves as an external consistency check of both Lawry and Thomas. In his own Journal for 1836 Watkin wrote of the Tongans:

> 127 Their gods who are intelligent agents are demons or
> 192 the departed spirits of men eminent in their day for
> 776 their abominations while gods irrational and inanimate swell the number to an almost Grecian amount (Watkin, Journal, February 4, 1836).

775 This Watkin example was referred to in the previous chapter (p. 35)
797 and I stress once again the fact that the ethnohistorical researcher must evaluate the specific descriptions in the context of the observer-observed milieu. To the Tongans of the early 19th Century, 'otua was a spirit and a god whereas to the Wesleyan's 'otua was a demon, devil, or the aboriginal god.

127 Factual consistency, both internal and external, must be constantly checked for by the ethnohistorical researcher. The following Watkin description proves to be internally consistent with his last description in reference to "inanimate" aboriginal Tongan gods:

> 127 In the long list of Tonga gods was the rainbow and the
> 782 Whirlwind. Eclipses were grand sources of dread especi-
> 304 ally of the sun to remove they resorted to human
> [821] sacrifices, and as a lesser offering to that of cutting
> [776] off the little finger a loss which most of the adult inhabitants of these islands have sustained. Sometimes they attempted to deceive their gods by merely scarifying the finger previously amputated and smearing it with blood bind it up and present that before the god as a recent amputation in his honour! But this was I suppose when every available joint of both little fingers had been sacrificed on former occasions (Watkin, Ibid., February 12, 1836).

These two entries by Watkin, of February 4 and February 12, serve as a check on his own internal consistency in his descriptions. External consistency checks on the digital, or actually phalanx amputation, is provided in the account of an early 19th Century French voyager who visited Tongatapu in 1827:

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> The custom of cutting off a joint from one hand or the other to offer it is sacrifice to God, Hotoua, in the event of a serious illness of a father or close relative, still existed in all its force (Dumont D'Urville, April 29, 1827, p. 8; also see Dumont D'Urville n.d., pp. 93-94).[7]

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The ethnohistorical researcher must take into consideration as many eyewitness descriptions of aboriginal Tongan products as possible, to avoid "obscure and elusive" statements of ethnohistorical fact. Disagreeing eyewitness descriptions must be taken into consideration by the ethnohistorical researcher and weighed accordingly. The ethnohistorical researcher must first collect the various descriptions of 'otua, analyze them, and then make a synthesis in the form of a statement of ethnohistorical fact.

> The ethnohistorian has to construct a picture of things as they really were and of events as they really happened. The investigator's sense of coherency and continuity rests on a feeling for the way in which the dimensions of time and space are structured and form a framework for the exposition of the culture of the ethnic group. All data must be consistently related, and not to an imaginary picture. For the picture to make sense its relation to the evidence must be apparent. The truth of ethnohistorical statements rests on an appeal to the evidence [stress added] (Dark 1957: 231-232).

This citation from Dark is precisely what the ethnohistorian's eventual statement of ethnohistorical fact rests upon: consistently related evidence in the descriptions. The statement of ethnohistorical fact is a construct based not so much on "feeling," but also on the logical and progressive analysis of the descriptions in the context of the observer-observed milieu.

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
OU9 Tonga OU9

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797 In 1859 Thomas wrote in his journal of a conversation he had with an eighteen year old Tongan youth. Thomas, who had spent almost thirty years in the archipelago, was telling the Tongan about the past of Tonga:

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> and that it was wrong for men to set up intercessors of their own. That it was one of the great errors of Tongan worship that they prayed to departed spirits--chiefs & relatives &c to pray for them & the superior gods (Thomas, Journal, October 23, 1859).

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784 In an earlier journal entry for 1839, Thomas provided a description of the 'otua as a totem. He wrote of a Tongan named Simon Mafi:

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[776]
> Just come from the Haabais, hearing that his father was ill, and near death at the Bea. He went to see him, Mafi talked to his father about the true God &c, but the old man ordered him to desist, telling him he was ill, through his having eaten his god. Mafi had eaten the fish called Feke, which had been their family god, and his father charged him with the sin of it (Thomas, Journal, August 2, 1834).

127 Supporting, yet perhaps inconsistent for the ethnohistorical researcher, material can also be found in Thomas' letter-journal entry for the same day. In his letter-journal entry Thomas wrote of the father:

[753]
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> telling him that his illness was in consequence of his (Simon's) bad conduct to their family god. The fish called Feke was formerly worshipped by this Tribe... (Thomas, Letter-Journal entry of August 2, 1834).

The inconsistency stems from the fact that in both descriptions, Thomas refers to "family" but in one description he mentions "tribe." Before any ethnohistorical researcher can make a broader statement of ethnohistorical fact combining 'otua with "family" or "tribe" in aboriginal Tonga, these two latter terms have to be checked and cross-checked for their consistency based on 19th Century observations.

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
OU9 Tonga OU9

127 [775] [776] On the basis of the descriptions, a statement of ethnohistorical fact for aboriginal Tonga would be: to the aboriginal Tongans, the term 'otua could stand for either a deceased person or an animal totem and 'otua had as its referent for the Tongans either a spirit or a god. This statement is made on the basis of the cited ethnographic evidence.

What Ethnohistory Is Not

121 Extracting and testing all of the 19th Century statements on 'otua and determining that which can be called ethnographic evidence eventually allows the researcher to make a statement of ethnographic fact concerning aboriginal Tongan religion. Ethnohistory is thus the application of historical method to a certain body of documents for the construction of an historical ethnography (p. 7). Ethnohistorians focus on the "ethno-" in the term in presenting an ethnography of the people; the "-history" refers not to the writing of historical changes but to the application of historical method to gather verifiable ethnographic facts of the past for a particular society.

Ethnohistory is not a study of change per se, although it can eventually contribute to studies of change. The term ethnohistory as used by anthropologists is not synonymous to culture change, as H. Maude, the Pacific historian, has written. Maude has written of the revitalized "partnership" between history and anthropology in the 20th Century and states that "In providing a distinctive approach to the study of culture dynamics it is sometimes termed ethnohistory, particularly in the United States" (Maude 1968: xxi). "Culture dynamics," however, is not

CHAPTER IV

SPECIFICS

128 The following figure is extracted from data on page 6. It is a graphic representation of the length of stay of Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga in the early 19th Century.

This figure indicates overlap of missionaries in Tonga for the 1826-1840 period. It represents potential sources of descriptions from different eyewitnesses as a cross-check for reliability, providing the missionaries kept records, which are extant, and contained ethnographic descriptions.

127 One method of research would involve reading one particular individual's accounts in their entirety, for example, John Thomas from 1826 to post 1850, and extracting descriptions from his accounts. The descriptions are extracted on the basis of the researcher's ethnographic-ethnological knowledge, as having potential for eventual statements of ethnohistorical fact. After having read and extracted specific descriptions from one individual's accounts, he then proceeds to repeat the process for a second individual's accounts, such as Watkin's accounts for 1831-1837, and proceeds in this manner until all of the accounts are read.

The value of this technique is that it facilitate internal comparison in that the researcher can readily observe the changes in perspective of the observer to the observed. He extracts a specific description made by the eyewitness in reference to particular Tongan social or cultural behavior at Time 1, then continuing to read the same individual's accounts, the researcher extracts descriptions of the same or similar behavior at Time 1+x. If there is a shift in perspective it can be noted when making these internal comparisons. Although this method of reading has some value, it does not readily provide the ethnohistorian with different eyewitness descriptions of the same behavior at the same point in time. In other words, he merely extracts the descriptions of one eyewitnesses observations for a certain span of time, five, ten, or twenty years or more. Until the researcher reads other eyewitness accounts, he can never be certain that the first individual's accounts, read in their entirety, actually described Tongan behavior. The descriptions may describe something, but unless he can make external comparisons of similar descriptions, at the same point in time, he cannot determine the biases of the observer to the observed. This is the same problem in ethnographic fieldwork, when the ethnographer concentrates solely on one informant, knowledgeable or not.

The alternative method of ethnohistorical reading, which I utilized in the research, involved reading all of the manuscript accounts in chronological order as well as synchronous order. This means I read all of the available manuscript accounts of individual "A" for a six-month time span, for example, July to December 1833; I then proceeded to read all of the manuscript accounts for individual "B" for approximately the same six-month period. The reading continued in this

127 manner until all of the extant missionary accounts for the same six-month period had been read. As the reading progressed, I extracted ethnographic descriptions from the accounts on the basis of my background knowledge. I was able to make specific external comparisons of different eyewitness descriptions of the same Tongan behavior observed on the same date. Thus a wide range of such descriptions, by different eyewitnesses, are examined by the ethnohistorical researcher in a single working day.

128 The two alternative reading methods are portrayed in the follow-
127 ing figures (Figures 2 and 3). For both figures, each line (---)
represents the manuscript accounts of a specific missionary (A, B, C,
D), and the numeral (1) represents the description of the same Tongan
social or cultural behavior recorded on the same date. "C" did not
observe the event.

127 In Figure 2, the researcher, when he begins his analysis of the extractions from description "1," can compare 1A and 1B as soon as he gets to the place in the account where description 1B occurs. Likewise, he can compare 1D with the previous extractions from 1A and 1B when he gets to the place in the account where description 1D occurs. Alternatively, the researcher can wait until all the accounts have been read, and go back to his notes of the extractions, and then compare 1A with 1B with 1D all on the same date of the researcher's time. The failing of this reading method is obviously the fact that until the researcher actually reads the manuscript accounts of B, C, or D, he does not know if description "1" as recorded by "A" is an isolated

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   (1830-1846)
A---------------]--
                      (1835-1849)
                   B-----------]-----
                                  (1843-1846)
                                    C----
                                           (1842-1851)
                                         D--]-------
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Figure 2. Reading Individual by Individual.

```
    (1830-1846)
A---------------]--
       (1835-1849)
    B-----------]-----
           (1843-1846)
             C----
             (1842-1851)
            D--]-------
```

Figure 3. Reading Each Individual Time-Block by Time-Block.

127 description. Secondly, if the manuscript accounts of missionary "A" are extensive, and it takes him several months to read this one individual's accounts, he is not as likely to be aware of the specific description "1" as recorded by missionary "B."

On the other hand, the ethnohistorical research reading method, portrayed in Figure 3, which I utilized, is more efficient in that it allows the ethnohistorical researcher to read all the extant descriptions "1" in A, B, and D, either on the same research day or within a very close span of time (a few days to a week). This results from the fact that the accounts A, B, C, and D, are read in manageable blocks of time (approximately three to six months). Hence the accounts are read in a chronological and somewhat simultaneous manner. With this ethnohistorical reading methods, if description "1" in account "A" is an isolated description, the ethnohistorical researcher knows it almost immediately. If it is not an isolated description, the researcher also knows this since A, B, C, and D, are read in close proximity to one another.

Throughout all of the archival research period, the ethnohistorian must be familiar with the native language: as transcribed by the 19th Century eyewitness and as transcribed by contemporary Tongans. The early 19th Century Wesleyan accounts did not have any descriptions in the native language, although individual native terms did appear in the manuscript. If orthographic variations are present in description "1" in accounts A, C, and D, the ethnohistorical researcher of Figure 2 might have difficulty in discovering the correct term. Let us say that in description 1A the researcher accurately records the term as the

127 eyewitness wrote it: qpmr. The same term appears in description 1B and he accurately records it: opmr. In 1D he records the orthographic variation: opnr. If the researcher compares the term in 1A (qpmr) to the term in 1B (opmr) as soon as he gets to the place where description 1B occurs, he might note the discrepancy and attempt to ascertain the correct spelling of the term. He may or may not be able to determine the correct spelling of the term on the basis of these two cases alone. The same comparison may be made when the researcher gets to the point where description 1D occurs (opnr). By looking at the three variations he might decide that "opmr" in 1B is the proper spelling of the term, and that the other two variations are due to the idiosyncracies of eyewitness observers A and D. This term, opmr, may or may not be important for subsequent descriptions in the manuscript accounts. If the researcher in Figure 2 waits until all descriptions are recorded, the varied recordings of the term in accounts 1A, 1B, and 1D, may or may not influence the researcher's subsequent evaluation of descriptions after description "1."

The ethnohistorical researcher of Figure 3 compares the orthographic variations of 1A (qpmr), 1B (opmr), and 1D (opnr) simultaneously and makes a probabilistic decision that 1B, opmr, is the correct spelling of the term. With this knowledge, he is less likely to misinterpret subsequent descriptions in which the term opmr occurs.

In the ethnohistorical chronological-synchronous reading method which I utilized, a six-month time span has been given as the example on page . Obviously, the amount of extant manuscript materials influences the precise time span chosen by the ethnohistorical researcher. These materials include all journals or diaries, letters, letter-journals, and letter books which cover the chosen time span. Although many missionary journals have apparently not survived into the 20th Century, or were not available at the Mitchell Library, my investigations at the Mitchell Library revealed several microfilm reels of Wesleyan - -- manuscript letters, arranged in a chronological fashion. These microfilm reels also contained holographic letter-journal accounts of missionaries for whom there were no extant journals available. These letters and holographic letter-journals were read in the appropriate block of time.

The location of the various eyewitness Wesleyan observer also influenced the reading time span utilized. If there were twenty extant missionary accounts for the same time period, ten of which described activity on the island of Tongatapu, then a weekly or monthly time span for those ten would be appropriate. For the period of July-December 1833, for example, Thomas, Hobbs, Tucker and Woon were stationed on Tongatapu and described events on that island. Turner was stationed at Vava'u Island and Watkin at the Ha'apai group of islands. First the Tongatapu descriptions were read together, and then the Ha'apai and Vava'u accounts were read for their local descriptions.

Determining the exact block of time to be read is also influenced by the individual missionary's amount of factual description. With a great amount of description, or daily entries in a journal, smaller blocks of time would be more appropriate for extracting comparative descriptions from several journals. On the other hand, since the personal and private journals, referred to earlier (see page 43), had only a few entries in an entire year, a year's entries were read at a single sitting.

There was a point in my ethnohistorical research where the ethnohistorical reading method of chronological-synchronous reading could not be used, and I had to rely on the alternative method described for Figure 2. This was because not all the extant manuscript accounts were located at the same research institution. Thomas, Watkin, Turner and other Wesleyan missionary accounts were located in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia, and were read by the ethnohistorical chronological-synchronous reading method; but the Hobbs journal was located in Canberra, Australia, and the Woon journal was located in Wellington, New Zealand. The Hobbs and Woon accounts had to be read in their individual entirety after the Mitchell Library research had been completed. If all manuscript accounts are located in one location, then chronological-synchronous reading is the efficient and logical method to use. If the materials are located in different geographic areas or different institutions, then chronological reading is the only way in which the research can be accomplished.

Three Eyewitnesses of the Hikitanga Ceremony

As the ethnohistorical researcher reads the manuscript accounts in a chronological-synchronous manner, he may come across a description which indicates some forthcoming activity. The said description may

127 contain little of specific ethnographic value, but alerts him to the fact that subsequent descriptions might contain something of ethnographic value about the activity. Such a description which portends future descriptions is the following extract from Woon's letter-journal:

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> We have been somewhat amused of late with some tales which have reached us respecting the proceedings of the unenlightened, especially from a place called the Bea, where the fircest have been - - - themselves about the sickness of their chief who is in a declining state, and who is expected to leave this world for Bulotu, the place of departed spirits, chiefly the residence of chiefs & matabules, and who is expected to take an active part in the government of their affairs when he gets there, as he is said to have great influence on that quarter, his brother being there who died several years ago, and who is interceding for him and his people. The most ridiculous customs are followed up at the Bea to lengthen out the days of the chief and when he dies, we expect great lamentations will be made for him (Woon, Letter-Journal entry of July 15, 1833) [- - - indicates an illegible phrase in the holographic account].

Woon is describing activities which were taking place at the area known as the Pea on Tongatapu Island, and although "the fircest" Tongans were apparently there, no proper names are given. Of ethnographic interest in this description is his reference to "Bulotu" or Pulotu, and that the dying chief's dead brother has been active on behalf of the living. This latter point has a bearing on the previously discussed concept of 'otua (pages 53-57), especially the point Lawry made that "Atuas are the souls of departed chiefs" (Lawry, Diary, October 9, 1822; see page 53). What is really of interest for the ethnohistorical researcher, however, is the activity surrounding the expected death of the Tongan chief. By means of the chronological-synchronous reading method I

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127 found elaborations on these activities at the Pea in other Wesleyan missionary accounts.

The following descriptions, recorded by three separate individuals, contain varying amounts of ethnographic information. They are apparently the only descriptions of the activities which Woon was referring to that have survived into the 20th Century. Where Woon's entry was for July 15, 1833, the following descriptions deal with the activities of July 23, 1833. Thomas' Journal provides us with the basic information of who the Wesleyan eyewitnesses were, and from whom the ethnohistorical
127 researcher can hope to find extant manuscript accounts. Thomas con-
797 tinues Woon's description of what took place:

> 765 Today we set off for the Bea, viz I and Bro Hobbs and Tucker to witness a ceremony called the Hikitaga, it consists in removing the remains of the dead into a
> [565] nother place. The Chief at the Bea is very unwell and lately made a new stone vault into which he was preparing to deposit the remains of the chief Takai. Also the remains of three persons named Lavaka - and about 4 persons besides. We were allowed to sit inside the house which was over the burying place, and witness a part of the process, we saw the coffin, in which Takai was buried, it was an old canoe the boards of which were getting rotten [stress in original] (Thomas, Journal, July 23, 1833).

This trip to the Pea area was to witness the Tongan ceremony known as hikitanga. The 19th Century dictionary transcribed the term as "Hikitaga" and defined it as "the act of removing the bones of the dead" (Rabone 1845: 127). The 20th Century definition of the term is "to dig up (a corpse), to exhume, disinter" (Churchward 1959: 223).

127 In this description from his journal, although Thomas did not provide us with the name of the dying chief, he does provide us with the

127 name of the dead chief, Takai, who is to be reburied. On the basis of Woon's description, the ethnohistorical researcher might make the initial assumption that Takai was the brother of the un-named dying chief, who interceded in Pulotu for the chief and his people, but more information is definitely needed to make a statement of ethnohistorical
127 fact based on this assumption. Thomas' own letter-journal manuscript
797 account, with its entry of July 23, 1833, provides us with the name
765 of the dying chief at the Pea:

> ...to witness a heathen ceremony there called Hikitaga, it consists in the moving the bones of the dead from one place to another. I expected many persons to be present, and thought an opportunity might thus afford of speaking for the Lord. On arriving at the Bea, we
> [565] waited upon Fae, or Taufa, the chief who is very ill,
> [763] and has he feels satisfied he must die, he has been careful to prepare himself a tomb or vault while yet alive, into which his remains are to be put, when he dies. This vault, which has cost his people immense labour and time, is to contain the remains of several great chiefs, who from time to time have been commited to the earth, chiefly relatives after which his own remains are to be deposited there [stress added] (Thomas, Letter-Journal, July 23, 1833).

127 The actual description of the hikitanga ceremony has not been elaborated upon. The assumption that the individual named "Takai" of Thomas' journal description was the brother of the dying chief "Fae" of Thomas' letter-journal entry is strengthened by Thomas' mention of "relatives" being reburied.

127 Hobbs, one of the other missionaries mentioned by Thomas in his
797 journal entry, also wrote of the visit and the activities at the Pea:

> 565 On Tuesday I accompanied Bro Thomas and Bro Tucker to the Bea one of the principal places on the island the
> 765 chief of which is very ill - We witnessed parts of the ceremony of taking up a deceased chief's Bones and saw

> 127 797 565 765 the vault in which they were afterwards to be deposited. When Bro Thomas waited on the Sick Chief he found him fully determined to choose his idols. He said it was very well for us and Tubou and the people to serve our God; but as for him he was fully satisfied to worship his own God and that he and his people therefore should continue to choose to their heathenish ceremonies. [776] [775] [787] The god that this Chief principaly worships died about 20 years since whose bones are now removed; and it is also as firmly believed that that he inspires the present chief that is, that he comes and communicates with him on all important occasions from the invisible world. And the people seem to adore the Chief almost as much as the god who inspires him. 127 797 764 [565] [763] It is expected that this chief will soon die, and he intends to be buried in the new vault just now finished. The vault is indeed a marvelous work for a company of poor heathen savages to perform destitute as they are of Tools - it is composed of 5 large pieces of stone one to answer as a bottom and four for each side. These were fitted to each other in a way which was highly creditable to their genius and perseverance and left a space for the Bones about 6 feet long 4 feet Deep and 3½ feet wide. There was a stone also prepared to cover the Vault when the present chief dies. This stone is about 9 feet long 7 feet broad & 1 & ½ foot thick wrought into a square form with one smooth face which will of course be placed downwards [stress added] (Hobbs, Journal, July 27, 1833).

127 From this rather detailed description by Hobbs, the ethnohistorical researcher gradually pieces together the events which took place at the Pea. Once again, although proper names of the dying Tongan chief (Fae) and the deceased chief (Takai) are not mentioned, one assumes that if inspiration for the dying chief comes from a deceased relative, as 'otua, then Fae and Takai might have been siblings.

The journal of the third missionary mentioned by both Thomas and Hobbs, Charles, Tucker, was not available. Tucker, however, did make a letter-journal entry of the events of that day, presumably copied [797] [765] from his own journal. Tucker wrote:

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> Yesterday I accompanied Messers. Thomas & Hobbs to the Bea (a place where heathenism still abounds) to witness a ceremony of rather a novel and interesting nature, viz. the removing of the bones of a great chief whose demise took place about twenty years ago. He was buried originally in a small canoe which was deposited in sand, and had a shed erected over it. Now they have prepared a stone vault in which to inter him; we witnessed only a part of the ceremony. It did not terminate until today. On these occasions they inflict very severe punishment on themselves as a proof of their love for the person who may have died. They burn themselves on the cheek bone and other parts of their bodies and then they keep striking with their fist that part of their face which has been burnt, some cut their heads & faces with sharp stones and shells, while they assure those who are dead that they are almost dying for love to them. If the deceased had been warriors or had distinguished themselves in any way during their life, their most noted action would be recited at their funerals [stress added] (Tucker, Letter-Journal, entry of July 24, 1833).

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Tucker clearly states that he was a witness to part of the ceremony and that the entire ceremony was at a minimum, a two-day ceremony (or perhaps a twenty-four hour ceremony--from noon to noon). He provides us with details on the behavior of individuals attending a funeral ceremony or a hikitanga, or re-burial ceremony. The ethnohistorical researcher is still not certain of the relationship between the dying chief and the re-buried dead chief, but Tucker's description provides a confirmation or external consistency check on Thomas' journal description of the canoe in which the dead chief was originally buried and the "house" (Thomas) or "shed" (Tucker) erected over the old burying place where the canoe was located in the sand. The possible significance of this shed over a burial place is clarified by Turner, who was witness to a burial at Vava'u. Turner wrote ("should a chief die in his house that house would be sacred for 6 months - or would be removed

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127 over the grave" (Turner, Journal, February 18, 1833).

764 A final description of the hikitanga ceremony of July 23, 1833 comes from Thomas' post-1850 manuscript account. 127 Thomas provides information which confirms descriptions from all previous accounts of 765 the hikitanga, as well as new details and information.

> [304] Fae of Bea is still very ill, but firmly attached to his heathenism, he has had a new stone vault got ready for his body in his fort, and this day disinterred the body of Takai his older brother formerly the warrior chief of this fort, and three other friends of the Lavaka tribe, and now the people of Bea are performing funeral ceremonies for them a second time, it being what is called the hikitangaa with the crying of the women, and beating their bosoms, and the frantic speeches of the men who cut themselves and break their heads until the blood gushes out and runs down over their bodies. [776] [565] This of course is in sorrow to the dead and especially to Takai the Tutelar God - and at one time esteemed the Hau, or How of Tonga.
>
> The bones of the different chiefs were carefully laid in new clean matts - with black cloth and wealth and thus covered and laid out in a large house prepared for the occasion, where the chief mourners were all seated and where lights were about to be kept burning all that night in honour of the dead, and the mourning would be kept up. 127 797 763 [765] Large quantity of native property was presented, as is usual at the funeral of chiefs called tukuofo - and the next day the chiefs would be laid in the new vault with all the usual ceremonies, of persons lately departed, but as our time did not admit of our remaining to witness that part, we first waited upon Fae and again urged upon him the importance of caring for his soul, but turning to God, but found him most firmly determined to die to the gods of Tonga, and although he was now near death yet he was firm to his gods. He was more ernest than usual, and almost angry to think that he should be talked to on such a subject. Our last words that he would most assuredly find out that Jehovah was the true God. We then left him [stress added] (Thomas MS. Ib: 923-925).

● 127 This description by Thomas clearly points out that Fae and Takai
were brothers, confirming Woon. This sibling relationship is also
[776] confirmed by extant Tongan genealogies (Collocott n.d. I: 49). Thomas'
statement that Takai was the titular god of Fae confirms what Hobbs
[764] wrote. The house mentioned by Thomas follows his own journal and con-
[765] firms Tucker's "shed." Thomas' description of the behavior of the
individuals participating in the *hikitanga* ceremony also confirms
Tucker's general description of funerary activities.

127 Thomas provides us with new information on how the bones of
565 Takai were prepared for interment, how Fae was living in a fort, and
that Takai was "at one time esteemed the Hau, or How of Tonga."
127 Gifford (1929) wrote that the title *hau* was a "term applied to either
565 the Tui Haa Takalaua or the Tui Kanokupolu" (1929: 85). Since Gifford
643 never lists Takai as having held either the title of *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua*
or *Tu'i Kanokupolu* (1929: 82-87) and he never records Takai as being a
hau, then either Thomas' eyewitness-based description was incorrect or
Gifford was incorrect. Gifford could be in error on either of two
counts: either the title *hau* was not limited to only the individual
who held the title of *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua* or *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, or, Takai
was at one point *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua* or *Tu'i Kanokupolu* and Gifford
failed to record this fact.

Gifford based his statements on the *hau* on the basis of his interpretation of published accounts and memory culture of 20th Century informants. Thomas, on the other hand, was an actual eyewitness at the time of the *hau* and Gifford was not. In his journal of 1833 Thomas

127 565 643 wrote of Fae's death in August of that year:

> [771] [595] The death of this chief will make a considerable sensation through this island, he was the hau, or how, a conqueror. He became the how at the death of Takai, his elder brother, who was a great warrior and very successful. Fae, or Taufa, was a powerful chief, and a strong advocate for idolatry and a persecutor of true religion. He was a great polygamist, and had about 16 wives [stress added] (Thomas, Journal, August 12, 1833).

This account by Thomas points out that Fae was also hau, having succeeded his brother in the title. Where Gifford writes of Fae succeeding Takai upon Takai's death (1929: 209), he merely quotes a translation of a Tongan account which states Fae "ruled in his Takai's place at Pea." Gifford does not write of Fae as having been either hau, Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua or Tu'i Kanokupolu.

Based on Thomas' descriptions I would make a statement of ethnohistorical fact: Takai and Fae were both hau in the early 19th Century. I would not, however, state that Takai and Fae were either Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua or Tu'i Kanokupolu since there is insufficient evidence to support such a statement. In this instance, I accept Thomas' 19th Century first-hand eyewitness descriptions in preference to Gifford's 20th Century interpretations.

128 127 In this section I have discussed and cited three individual 19th Century Wesleyan eyewitness descriptions of a particular Tongan ceremony, the hikitanga. I have demonstrated how each description is externally consistent or corroborates to some degree parts of the other individual descriptions.

127 As an ethnographer-ethnohistorian, I am not so much concerned with the uniqueness of the descriptions of the July 23, 1833, hikitanga

127 ceremony, as I am concerned with the descriptions as representative hikitanga ceremonies in general. These corroborated descriptions can be used as the basis of statements of ethnohistorical facts on the hikitanga ceremony, funerary activities, and Tongan religion.

The ethnohistorical researcher attempts to acquire as many descriptions from different eyewitnesses observing the same behavior, preferably observed and recorded on the same date, in order to make as many external consistency checks as possible. The greater the consistency of comparative descriptions, the more valid are the ethnohistorian's inferences and thereby the statements of ethnohistorical fact.

Data on an Ethnographic Reconstruction: 'Inasi Ceremony

The ethnohistorical researcher must have background ethnographic
knowledge about the society being studied before reading, extracting,
127 and testing the descriptions from manuscript accounts. From previous
651 readings I not only knew that the 'inasi was an important ceremony in
171 aboriginal Tongan society (Gifford 1929: 345), but also that the cere-
796 mony had parallels in other parts of Polynesia (Vide Goldman 1970:
127 134ff.; Sahlins 1957: 24-25; and Williamson 1924). I tested the
121 statements made by the Wesleyan missionaries against known and accepted
ethnographic evidence concerning first fruit ceremonies in Tonga in
particular and Polynesia in general. This required reading the manu-
script, extracting specific descriptions, and comparing them with
127 651 796 accepted ethnographic evidence. The 'Inasi was an aboriginal Tongan

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651 ceremony which involved the presentation of produce and material goods
796 at certain times of the year. An ethnographic reconstruction of the
[121] Tongan ceremony can serve as a test of Sahlins and Goldman and can also
contribute to ethnological comparisons in Polynesia.

244 The Tongans were a horticultural people and the yam, or 'ufi,
262 was the main crop. The Wesleyan missionary Cross stated "the yam is a
vegetable that is to the inhabitants of Tonga, what bread is to many
in our native land" (Cross, Letter-Journal entry of December 3, 1830).
805 The aboriginal Tongan names of the respective parts of the year, based
244 on the lunar month and thirteen separate designated time periods (Dyson,
Journal, April 7, 1863), indicate the importance of the yam to the
Tongans. Thomas wrote that the month of June was termed "Hilinga
kelekele" by the Tongans and that "they expect the soil to produce
forth now" (Thomas, MS. A1959: n.p.). He also wrote that the Tongans
"expect the soil to produce forth now" and of the yams of this time
period, that "this is the earliest and the best yams" (Ibid.). For the
European month of October, Thomas wrote: "Ooloo enga - Uluega" which
is 'Uluenga for "Ooloo, the head, enga yellow" and at this time the
yams "become yellow" (Ibid.).

127 Reading and extracting descriptions by the ethnohistorical
797 chronological-synchronous reading method reveals the changes in the
796 individual missionary's reporting capabilities. These changes of the
651 observer to the observed are evident in the examples from Thomas' manuscript accounts describing the 'Inasi, transcribed by Thomas as "Inache"
and "Inaji." The first example is from Thomas' 1826 journal, when he

127 was newly arrived on the island of Tongatapu:

> 797 The Inache or great feast will take place very soon,
> 796 a man or two are going about at night to keep the
> hootooa or spirit down. The men have spears and if
> 651 they meet with any man they kill him - at these times
> few people are about at night, and a great quietness
> is required.
>
> There's must be a fool of a God if he does not know when the Inache is (Thomas, Journal, September 2, 1826).

Thomas was an eyewitness to several 'Inasi preparations and ceremonies during his stay and in 1841 he wrote in his journal:

> ...annual meeting called the Inaji. Thus though they partially acknowledge God, yet in their works they deny him, and ascribe their praise for the produce of the earth & those who are no gods (Thomas, Journal, November 24, 1841).

These two descriptions may be compared with the following descriptions by Thomas from a post-1850 manuscript where he wrote: "The Inaji. This was a solemn yearly feast held at the Mua" on Tongatapu Island. He wrote that it was held "in honour of the gods, at which young yams were brought, being carried by the priests from every part of the land, and presented to the god Hikuleo" (Thomas MS. 5: 19). In the same
[782] manuscript account he also stated that "The Inaji was an acknowledgement of their entire dependence upon the gods for the fruits of the
127 earth" (Ibid.). From the "fool of a God" in 1826 to the solemnity and
[797] "acknowledgement" after several decades as an eyewitness to Tongan life, the ethnohistorical researcher records the changes in Thomas' reporting capabilities.

[651] The term 'Inasi was transcribed in the 19th Century Wesleyan
[796]
[192] dictionary as "Inaji" and defined as "a heathen ceremony; portion, part,

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796 share" (Rabone 1845: 17). An earlier 19th Century definition from
192 Mariner, where the term was transcribed as "inachi," has "a share; also the name of a certain public ceremony of a religious nature" (Mariner
[643] 1817, II: no page number). The contemporary 20th Century definition of the term, defines it as a verb: "to have or receive a share," and as a noun:

> (In old Tonga) presentation of food to the Tu'itonga in a way that came to be regarded as inconsistent with the Christian religion (Churchward 1959: 561).

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643 In aboriginal Tonga, as opposed to 20th Century interpretations of what aboriginal Tonga was like, the *'inasi* ceremony was neither confined strictly to foodstuffs, nor was it presented solely to the *Tu'i Tonga*. On this latter point Lawry is quite clear when he wrote in October of 1822 when eyewitness to an *'inasi* ceremony on the island of Tongatapu, the only place where the *'inasi* was held (*Vide* Thomas MS. 5: 19):

> It is remarkable, however, that at present there is no Tooitonga - so they wave their yams before the place where he used to sit (Lawry, Diary, October 21, 1822).

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796 Although yams are mentioned by Lawry, it is quite evident from other contemporary manuscript accounts that more than food was involved in the presentation. The island of Uvea, approximately 550 miles from Tongatapu Island (and outside of the Tongan archipelago) sent "pearl shells as tribute" for the *'inasi* ceremony (Thomas MS. 5: 23-24); the island of Niua Fo'ou, approximately 390 miles from Tongatapu Island, sent "Iron wood of a superior kind" as well as "kie's, or fine matts to wear" (*Ibid*., pp. 23-24). Foodstuffs were also sent to the *'inasi*

127 ceremony, but they were not confined to yams: Toku Island, approxi-
651 mately 220 miles from Tongatapu, sent "the young of a sea bird" and
796 the Island of Nomuka, approximately 70 miles from Tongatapu, "sent
fish from the sacred lake [which was] carefully prepared" (*ibid.*) for
the ceremony.

With the above evidence, preliminary statements of ethnohistorical facts might be: Islands furthest from Tongatapu sent imperishables to the '*Inasi* ceremony, even though certain Polynesian foodstuffs (including yams) do travel well for lengthy distances; or, Uvea and Niua Fo'ou sent items which were unusual at Tongatapu, or items "of superior kind."

The '*Inasi* ceremony, then, involved more than presentation of foodstuffs and as Mariner, a non-missionary, pointed out, it was a
127 "certain public ceremony of a religious nature." Aboriginal Tongan
651 religious beliefs were an important part of the ceremony since when
796 the *Tu'i Tonga* was present, the products were presented to him, and
643 when he was not, they were presented in his absence to the gods. Thomas
[776] wrote of the *Tu'i Tonga* that he was:

> viewed as the *representative* of the god Hikuleo, a kind of connecting link therefore between the people, and the god and his place was at Olotele [on the Island of Tongatapu] [stress added] (Thomas MS. IA: 252).

127 There were two yearly '*Inasi* ceremonies, the '*Inasi 'ufimui* and the
651 '*Inasi 'ufimotu'a*, and writing of the '*Inasi 'ufimui* Thomas stated:

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776 > This was a solemn yearly gathering of chief and
782 > priests from all parts of Tonga, which took place
244 > at Mua [on Tongatapu Island] in the month of June, called Hiligakelekele, *to present what we may term*

> 127 the first fruits, or the first young yams to the
> 651 god Hikuleo, at his house at Olotele, as an acknow-
> 796 ledgement of their dependence upon him and the gods,
> 776 as the owners of the earth, the sea, and all things
> 782 and to unite to supplicate the gods, to bless the
> 244 seed now about to be put into the ground, and to
> send them suitable weather of rain and sun, that the
> yams set may bring forth a crop, and that their labours
> may not be in vain (Thomas MS. 2: 262) [stress added].

This 'inasi 'ufimui, held at the height of winter in the Southern Hemisphere, or in approximately June or July, was not only an acknowledgement of "the first young yams" and the crops which were being planted, but was also a "thanksgiving to the odooa," or 'otua named Hikuleo, "for the late ripe yams" (eyewitness' description-interpretation of events of July 25, 1797, in Wilson 1799: 259).

The 'inasi 'ufimotu'a, derived from "'ufi-" and "motu'a" with the latter term meaning "mature" (Churchward 1959: 367), was held in approximately October-November. Thomas wrote that this was the acknowledgement "to show the prosperity of the land, that the old stock had
127 lasted till the new were fit to dig up" (Thomas MS. 5: 19). The
651 Wesleyan missionary Lawry's typescript diary has a description of the
796 first 'inasi he was eyewitness to on Tongatapu. Probably through the typist's error, the term is typed as "Machee:"

> The great ceremony of Machee, one of the greatest
> festivals in Tonga, ceased to-day. It has continued
> [782] nine days. Its object is to bring the first fruits
> [244] of the earth and present them before the god who has
> sent them good yams. That part of the island were
> we live is called the Mooa, or metropolis of Tonga;
> and to this place the chiefs of Vavaou and the
> Hapais bring their machee, towards the end of the
> last moon the fleet of canoes and crowds of people
> by land rendering the Mooa a moving scene of universal bustle and stir. The ceremony lasts nine days.
> Every day has its special transaction [stress added]
> (Lawry, Diary, October 21, 1822).

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651 The period of the 'Inasi was a time when all work on Tongatapu ceased
796 (Thomas MS. 5: 20). During the nine-day period of the ceremony,
singing, dancing, and games took place (Ibid.; Wilson 1799: 259;
[782] Mariner 1817, II: 207-215). This was all part of the religious aspect
involving the giving of thanks to the gods and the acknowledgement of
[565] their powers. The products brought to the Mu'a area were redistributed
[793] among the chiefs and priests of the various deities, including the
[643]
[437] Tu'i Tonga representative of the deity Hikuleo.

127 The following description from an eyewitness of the 1797-1800
175 period clarifies the interrelationship between chiefs and deities:

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> Their deities are numerous; and there is reason to think their prejudices are strong. Every district has its own deity; and each family of note has one, whom they consider as their own particular patron. The deities of the districts are, on certain occasions, represented by several chiefs of those districts; so that their natches and other annual exhibitions are not mere public amusements but religious observances, whereon they think the lives and health of their chiefs, for whom they have great affection, entirely depend; as likewise the prosperity of the country in general: expecting the succeeding crop will be in proportion to the offering made at these times. They have two natches in the year, one when their yams are set, to procure the favour of futtafaihe: and the other when they gather them in, expressive of their gratitude [stress added] (W. Smith 1813: 155).

127 Smith's description of the two "natches" or 'Inasi 'ufimui and 'Inasi
[796] 'ufimotu'a corroborates what Thomas later wrote concerning the two
[651] ceremonies. The description that each Tongan "family of note" has a
[776] deity "whom they consider as their particular patron" helps to clarify
the significance of the Takai-Fae relationship discussed earlier on the
hikitanga (see pages 71-76).

127 The above ethnographic reconstruction of the '*Inasi* ceremony
796 provides some new ethnohistorical evidence which enables us to confirm
651 or deny certain statements made by 20th Century scholars. Gifford
114 [643] (1929: 76) was correct when he wrote that the *Tu'i Tonga* acted "as intermediary" between the Tongan people and the gods, but he was in error when he wrote that the '*Inasi* ceremony would be "impossible without" the *Tu'i Tonga* (*Ibid.*), as Lawry's citation from 1822 makes quite clear. Since Gifford was working with 20th Century informants "memory culture" of an aboriginal ceremony in 1920-1921, and since the '*Inasi* ceremony was no longer performed when Gifford was in Tonga, this is a good example of the justification of ethnographic reconstruction: one reconstructs on the basis of eyewitness accounts and not on memory
[643] [776] culture. Gifford points out that Farmer, an individual who published a book in 1855 (based on some missionary information), stated that the *Tu'i Tonga* "was the high priest" of Hikuleo and it was in Hikuleo's honor that the '*Inasi* took place; but Gifford also points out that he was unable to verify this statement when he did his work in 1920-1921
127 114 (Gifford 1929: 345). Because the ethnohistorical researcher places together an historical ethnography on the basis of verifiable evidence of the past, he is "closer" to the actual aboriginal social and cultural behavior than the ethnographer who attempts a reconstruction by means of the memory information of the present.

[643] [776] Gifford could not make a statement of ethnographic fact concerning the relationship between the *Tu'i Tonga* and the deity Hikuleo, but I can make a statement of ethnohistorical fact that the *Tu'i Tonga* was representative of Hikuleo.

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representative of Hikuleo. Similarly, in his Ancient Polynesian Society (1970), Goldman is unable to reconcile the contradictory published information on the Tu'i Tonga (Ibid., p. 294) because of the passage of time and insufficient ethnohistorical evidence in the published ethnographies of Tonga.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

121 Ethnohistory is the combination of the anthropologist's ethnographic-ethnological knowledge and historical method. Ethnohistorical method is applied to certain materials in an attempt to solve specific problems in ethnography.

● 127 When ethnohistorical method is applied to documents in a logical and precise manner, i.e. scientific, the ethnohistorical researcher selects and extracts descriptions from the documents and checks and tests the extractions against known and confirmed ethnographic evidence. He weighs and verifies the descriptions and considers the context of the observer to the observed before making a statement of ethnohistorical fact, or ethnographic facts of the past, based on those confirmed and credible descriptions.

121 When the ethnohistorical method and the results of that method are verifiable by independent researcher, the precise statements of ethnohistorical fact are verifiable. This is the prime justification for this work: there has been no explicit statement to date as to how various researchers have gone about ethnohistorical research on documents written by non-ethnographers. There have been several authors who have worked with documents but their methods have never been

128 cross-check the descriptions for internal and external consistency.
●127 The ethnohistorical method is determined in part by the location of the
sources, the policy of the research institution, and the manner in
which the sources are preserved (original, microfilm, photocopy, etc.).
The best ethnohistorical reading method I found was that of chronological-
synchronous. The amount of ethnographic description contained
within the manuscript sources determined the time-span block I utilized
127 in reading. With this chronological-synchronous ethnohistorical read-
128 ing method, changes in perspective of the eyewitnesses can be recognized
and accounted for, as I discussed it earlier on the concepts of 'otua
and 'inasi. The historical method of making specific internal and
external checks on the consistency or validity of descriptions has
been demonstrated using descriptions in reference to 'otua, hikitanga,
and 'inasi. Statements of ethnohistorical fact, based on the consis-
tencies of the details in the descriptions, have been made. An ethno-
graphic reconstruction of the 'inasi was presented and it was pointed
out that ethnographic reconstructions can contribute to the testing of
ethnographic hypotheses concerning Polynesian cultures.

121 Ethnographic reconstructions are not limited to descriptions of aboriginal culture, but can be made at any point along the time continuum. I have discussed information from the 1822-1850 period of Tongan-European contact. If documents, and verifiable ethnographic evidence within those documents, become available for the 1850-1900 period, an ethnographic reconstruction of post-1850 Tonga could be attempted. There is no reason why one cannot reconstruct cultures at any point in time.

FOOTNOTES

Notes for Chapter I

161 [1] A numerical estimate of the indigenous Tongan population for
the year 1800 would fall within the range of fifteen to twenty thousand.
The most frequently cited figure is that of 18,500 recorded by
Wilkes in 1840 from the Wesleyan missionaries (1845, III: 29), but
this is greatly at odds with a Wesleyan estimate of 50,000 for 1847
162 (Lawry 1850: 245; Vide McArthur 1967: 73). An intriguing population
total for Tongatapu alone was made by an Australian sea captain in
1824: he placed the population of the main island at 34,800 (Beveridge
114 1824 Letter). Unfortunately, I believe the captain had less than the
goals of a preliminary census taker at heart but more the eye of a
businessman cum sea captain who was trying to convince the Wesleyan
missionaries at Sydney, Australia, with whom he was acquainted, of the
tremendous potential sales market for material goods and Christianity
in the archipelago.

797 [2] This list is based on Minns (1930; 1933). Missionaries who only
passed through the archipelago are not included in this list. This includes
Hazlewood, who was in Tonga in 1844 and Thompson who was in
127 Tonga in 1850. A comparison of the list with the manuscript bibliography
of this work will partially indicate the number of manuscript
[113 material which have survived into this Century. Many of these Wesleyan
missionaries had letters in the Mitchell Library microfilm series
FM4/1417 to FM4/1421. These letters were read in the course of the
research but unless they were specifically cited in this presentation,
these individual letters do not appear in this bibliography.

121 [3] The Swanton volume is an excellent example of ethnohistory contributing to ethnographic reconstruction (Bushnell) and culture history (Fenton).

[4] The historical aspect of Pacific culture was given impetus by the establishment in 1950 of the Department of Pacific History at the Australian National University, Canberra, Australia. Maude wrote that "the historical study of the Pacific Islands could be said to have commenced as an organized specialization within the general discipline of history" in 1950 (Maude 1968: xv). Even though "Pacific History" as an organized discipline began the movement to archival sources, the interest of Pacific historians have not necessarily coincided with the interests of ethnohistorians; and even though Pacific historians have done extensive archival research, their published works do not delineate the historical method which they applied to their sources.

127 [4]Scholarly works have often been inconsistent for Tonga and for
other parts of Polynesia when it comes to the hamza. Buck points out
114 that the hamza had not been used on a Hawai'ian dictionary as late as
1922 although it had been used in a Samoan dictionary published in
104 1911; he also pointed out that Bishop Museum publications of the early
20th Century were often lacking and inconsistent in the use of the
hamza--the hamza was included in some scholarly works and omited in
others and even the same word in the same text was, at times, spelled
with and without the hamza (Buck 1945: 38). See Freeman (1972) for a
recent statement on the lack of the hamza for Samoan work.

Notes for Chapter III

121 [1]See Dan Hollander, writing of "Social Description: The Problem of Reliability and Validity" who writes: "Scientific 'facts' in their own right do not exist. No 'fact' is ever 'pure' and 'objective.' Significance and interpretation are never simply contained in the facts. One cannot simply gather or discover facts. What we call facts are really constructions of the mind, isolated from a complex and as yet confused reality, with the help of definitions and classifications we have made ourselves. We find 'facts' by a process of selection which inevitably entails evaluation, the criterion being used: Is it relevant for what we are doing, will it be useful? We note and mention them because we already have an idea about the way they are linked up, - an idea only partly produced by these facts. It is a mental game of leapfrog with influences working both ways. On this basis we pay attention to one thing and not to another; it makes us observe in a particular way and perceive particular things and it determines the way our findings are provisionally put together. In the course of this we are forced by what we observe to modify the provisional assumptions, which then opens our eyes to other 'facts' and so on" (1967: 6-7). On a similar point, see Malinowski (1935, I: 465) who writes "here I want to drive home the most important principle of method in field-work: that without a theoretical grasp of the problem it is impossible to make relevant observations. An empirical and scientific theory of fact is necessary as a chart for observation and as a check on observations. Without a theory there can be no fruitful research;" and Nadel (1956: 167) who writes of theory as providing "something like a conceptual blueprint, mapping out the problem areas, indicating their presumed significance, and generally foreshadowing lines of inquiry."

[2]In setting off culture as a construct, I am thus distinguishing it from society, another construct of the same empirical reality (Vide Geertz 1957: 33ff.; Firth 1951, 1961: 27; Firth 1968; Mandelbaum 1968; and Singer 1968). In distinguishing culture from society, I do not go as far as White, who reifies the former, and Durkheim, who reifies the latter. Culture and society both have their locus in the individual and I cannot agree with Durkheim when he writes that "society is a

[7] The ethnohistorical researcher must also consider reading the appropriate published accounts of the time period to clarify some of the manuscript accounts, as well as cross-check various descriptions. Thus Orlebar (1833) and Waldegrave (1833) were read when I was reading the manuscript accounts of 1830, the year Orlebar and Waldegrave stopped at Tonga.

121 that with the passing of one more generation
little of this knowledge will survive in
Polynesia.

[101] It is for this purpose—to record the uses
of plants in folk-medicine—that I went to
Tonga during the months of September
through November, 1969.

The literature on diverse native floras and
the medical uses of each plant is voluminous.
The flora of Tonga, however, has never been
114 surveyed for this specific purpose. Strict
botanical investigation on the islands began
with Banks and Solander, who accompanied
Captain Cook on his first voyage in 1769
(11). There have been numerous other
collectors in the archipelago, and four comprehensive
reports of the flora of Tonga
have since been completed (32, 10, 4, 11).
127 *Plants of Tonga*, by T. G. Yuncker (32),
stands as the basic reference upon which
114 this survey was based. Yuncker's carefully
recorded list of native names was especially
valuable.

The results of several ethnological and
other first-person accounts have been utilized
114 in this paper (7, 17, 15). Although several
interesting anthropological studies are recorded,
information regarding Tongan medical
practices is scarce.

121 Although it would be interesting to decipher
slowly the conceptual structures underlying
the mechanics of medical treatment in
Tonga, I have attempted only to describe
the techniques and practices that are still
employed. It has become a question of
salvaging the knowledge still remaining
before it becomes too late to learn *anything*
about traditional Tongan medicine.

101 The Tonga Archipelago is situated in the
South Pacific Ocean between 15° and 23°
South Latitude and 173° and 177° West
Longitude. The islands are clustered in
three main areas. The northern, central, and
southern groups are known as the Vava'u,
Ha'api, and Tongatapu groups, respectively.
Scattered over 20,000 square miles of ocean,
the land area of the more than 150 islands
[161] is about 269 square miles. Only 36 of these
islands are inhabited, with a total population
of 77,585 individuals (1966 census). More
101 than 48,000 are living in the Tongatapu
162 group. Tongatapu Island is the largest in
this group, with an area of almost 100

[p. 424-A]

115 Tolu Ha'angana

(Agricultural Officer. Assistant to T. G. Yuncker when he was collecting in Tonga.) Field work, discussions, medical uses of plants.

Preben Kauffmann (Tavi)

(Expatriate from Denmark, 17 years in Tonga, friend of King Tupou IV and integral member of his community. Vegetarian.) Plants and medical uses.

Latu Toili-

(Driver for Medical Department.) Plants and medical uses.

Te'ekiu Village:

Amato Uia

(A renowned practitioner with 45 years experience.) Medical uses of plants and discussions.

128 A total of 91 remedies were recorded. Included in these remedies were 59 different species of plants used by at least two different informants. References to an additional
128 17 species of reputed value but not met with
127 in the field are included from the literature (29).

124 The general procedure for gathering data consisted of interviewing informants in their villages. With the aid of an interpreter, data were gathered in four categories. Tongan name of the plant, the part utilized in preparing the medicine, the illness, and the preparation, dosage, and administration.
124 Where the informant was agreeable, a walk through the village or surrounding "bush"
126 usually allowed collection of described plant specimens. In the few cases where the informant was either too busy or too infirm to accompany the investigator, the described plants were collected under the guidance of a direct relative or friend familiar with the habitat.

In some cases it was necessary to collect the described species with the aid of an agricultural officer, going only by Tongan
[824] plant names. Although this method is open to doubt in other regions of the Pacific because of variations in dialects, the Tongan language is constant as far as plant names are concerned. There are variations on descriptive names, but all base names of plants encountered were identical from one informant to another. This was verified through repeated checking.

[p.435-B]

124 126 Further reassurance regarding the consistency of plant names came while I was drying plant material later to be used as crude drug samples. As individual trays of desiccated leaves and bark were removed from copra driers, Tongan workers who had inquisitively gathered would attempt to call out the identity of the dried contents before the attached identifications were exposed. [824] Most men were able to identify the plant names correctly, relying solely on their ability to interpret the scents and shapes of the desiccated samples.

V. Enumeration of Tongan Medicinal Plants

126 128 Specimens of 59 species of plants were collected on Tongatapu Island. The plants were identified by using Yuncker (32) and also by a study of specimens available at the Herbarium of the Bishop Museum. Final determinations were established by Dr. A. C. Smith of the University of Hawaii. Voucher specimens are on deposit at the Bishop Museum.

Following is an enumeration of plants utilized as medicines by the Tongan people. 128 This list includes my own observations as well as those reported in the literature. 127 Families, genera, and species are arranged alphabetically. Tongan vernacular names and geographical distributions of each species, as given by Yuncker (32), are included.

128 The medicinal applications of each species in some other regions of the Pacific are enumerated to show their popularity in use.

278 AMARANTHACEAE
(Amaranth Family)

137 ACHYRANTHES ASPERA L.

tamatama

This pantropical species is common throughout the archipelago.

278 171 In Tahiti the roots are used in treating mouth sores, toothache, and syphilitic sores (19). It is reported that the plant is employed in medicines in Niue (31). In the Philippines the leaves and roots are valued as diuretics and the sap for treating cataracts (21).

278 752 In Tonga the leaves are used to tie wounds after circumcision (32), and after

642 lieved that 'civilisation' and 'law and order' were the spontaneous
797 results of evangelisation and would not have developed except in
ground prepared by the missionaries. The missionaries themselves
subscribed to this view as the following remarks show:

> A more hallowed and noble triumph, of Gospel truth, Tonga had never witnessed, than when the social and political advancement of its population was thus acknowledged, by king, chiefs, and commoners, to be the sole result of that enlightenment and saving grace, which the religion of Jesus Christ had imparted, and before which heathenism and tyranny had fallen to rise no more (West 1865:438).

Although these commentators were clearly convinced that all political changes in Tonga were to be directly attributed to the influence or interference of the Wesleyan missionaries, there is a need to re-examine this question from a less partisan viewpoint.
121 It is the purpose of this book to try to assess critically and objectively the significance of the part played by the Methodist missionaries in the political development of Tonga from the re-establishment of their mission in 1826 to the promulgation of the Tongan Constitution in 1875. It attempts to demythologise the firmly established notions consciously or unconsciously developed and perpetuated either for purposes of religious propaganda by the supporters of the mission or for denigration by its opponents. It tries to assess the overall impact which the missionaries had upon the Tongan way of life at this time and to determine whether, in fact, they were solely responsible for the political changes in Tonga, as some writers have claimed.

128 I would like to express my gratitude to all those who, in one way or another, kindly assisted me both in my research and in the preparation of this work. I feel indebted to so many that it is impossible to acknowledge everyone by name, but I would ask those whose names do not appear on these pages to accept my very sincere thanks for their help.

127 My thanks go to the staff of the following libraries and archives for their valuable assistance in making my research easier and more enjoyable: the National Library of Australia, Canberra; the Mitchell Library, Sydney; the Turnbull Library and the New Zealand National Archives in Wellington, New Zealand;

to Ian Diamond, former archivist of the Fiji Archives, and many 127
others in various institutions in Australia, New Zealand and Fiji.

I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the General Secretary of the Methodist Overseas Mission, the Reverend C. F. Gribble, O.B.E., and the Reverend E. V. Newman, who permitted the use of the Methodist Overseas Mission Archives; to Dr D. Williams of Trinity College, Auckland, for the use of the College archives; to the Reverend J. B. H. Robson, for the use of Methodist archives in Suva; to the Reverend G. Harris, then President of the Wesleyan Church in Tonga and to Bishop J. H. M. Rodgers, of the Roman Catholic Church, for the use of their respective archives at Nuku'alofa, and also to Father C. P. Butler and Father Mingam of the Marist Fathers' headquarters at Hunters Hill, Sydney, for the use of the monastery's archives, their useful criticisms of the sections on the Roman Catholic mission, and the translation of letters from the French.

My attention was initially drawn to the subject of this book by 128
the late Reverend R. G. Page, who had been a missionary in
Tonga for thirty-eight years. To this remarkable and unassuming man I owe a tremendous debt of gratitude for his sound advice, encouragement and personal interest in my work. The valuable [127]
historical books and records which he had wisely and carefully
collected for many years, and which have been generously given to me by his son Roger and daughter-in-law Mary, have been of invaluable help to this work. It is my deep regret that he did not live to see the completion of this book, which he had always wished.

I wish to express my sincere appreciation of the valuable 127
assistance given to me by Dr A. H. Wood and the late Dr E. E. V.
Collocott, both ex-missionaries and authorities on the history of Tonga. Thanks are also due to Miss Gwenyth L. Davies, of Adelaide, Mrs Halliday of West Wyalong, Miss Oldmeadow of Melbourne, Miss Crosby of Sydney, the Reverend H. K. Moulton of London and other descendants of the Wesleyan missionaries, who gave me access to the journals and letters of their forebears who had served in Tonga during the period of this study; these documents proved to be invaluable sources of information.

This study has been enriched by the oral traditions collected 121
126

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

AUTHOR'S NOTE.

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113

This book is intended for the use of secondary schools in Tonga and is based entirely on the following authorities:—

Martin: "Mariner's Account of the Tonga Islands."

"Captain Cook's Voyages of Discovery."

Zimmermann: "Third Voyage of Captain Cook."

Wilson: "Missionary Voyage of the 'Duff'."

Orange: "Life of Vason."

Farmer: "Tonga and the Friendly Islands."

West: "Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia."

Thomson: "Diversions of a Prime Minister."

Wilkes: "Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expedition."

Gifford: "Tongan Society" (Bishop Museum).

Gifford: "Tongan Myths and Tales" (Bishop Museum).

Gifford: "Tongan Place Names" (Bishop Museum).

McKern: "Archæology of Tonga" (Bishop Museum).

Collocott: "Poems and Tales of Tonga" (Bishop Museum).

Collocott and Havea: "Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans" (Bishop Museum).

Collocott: "Koe Ta'u 'e Teau."

Collocott: "Experiment in Tongan History" (Polynesian Society Journal).

"Pacific Islands Pilot, Vol. II, Central Groups" (Admiralty).

Brigham: "Index to the Islands of the Pacific" (Bishop Museum).

Admiralty Charts.

Tonga Government Reports and Papers, etc.

Sir Thomas Henley, of Sydney, has kindly lent the block of the Ha'amoga Trilithon and the Diagram of Falcon Island.

121 developmental trends.

101 The research was conducted from January 1971 through
January 1972 on the main island of the Tongan archipelago,
127 Tongatapu. Data sources included archives and government
124 departments, aerial photographs, market studies, personal
interviews, questionnaire surveys, and in-the-field in-
121 ventories of random samples of agricultural holdings. The
423 major foci of the study were the plant assemblages found
241 on bush and town allotments, to which all Tongan males over
241 16 years of age are entitled. The bulk of agricultural
produce comes from the bush allotments which average about
8 acres (3.2 hectares) in size, with additional produce
coming from town allotments where residences are normally
found, and which average about 0.4 acre (0.16 hectare) in
area.

Survey results indicate that approximately 34 percent of the area on bush allotments was under cultivation, the rest remaining in various stages of fallow. Of the cultivated area, 87 percent was devoted to subsistence cropping, 11 percent to commercial cropping, and the balance to a combination of the two. The most widespread staple crops were manioc, American taro, yams, sweet potatoes, taro, giant taro and plantains. Bananas comprised 42 percent of the commercial acreage with the balance consisting of crops such as watermelons, pineapples, peanuts, plantains, corn and garden vegetables. Intercropping was

88: Thaman K-5 (1967-1973) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

241 acres (3.3 hectares) in size. The 'api kolo are somewhat
423 fewer in number and average about one-quarter acre (0.1 hectares) in size.

Methodology

101 The majority of the data utilized in this study were collected on Tongatapu from January 1971 to January 1972. [114] Preparatory work was carried out during 1968 and 1969 while the author served as a United States Peace Corps Volunteer in Tonga. Some additional data were collected in February 1973.

12 The methodology used in acquiring the necessary data included: 1) a literature survey; 2) interviews; 3) a detailed study of the land tenure system; 4) research carried out in government departments; 5) a study of the market-place; 6) the use of aerial photography; 7) detailed ground reconnaissance survey; 8) the administration of a questionnaire; and 9) the collection and identification of herbarium specimens.

● 127 The literature survey was conducted in California and Tonga and at the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu
124 and the Western Pacific Archives in Suva, Fiji. People interviewed included His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, members of government boards and departments, farmers, and other people knowledgeable on various aspects of Tongan agriculture and botany.

127 The land tenure system was studied using land
registers and survey maps with the help of the staff of
121 the Land and Survey Department, Nuku'alofa. The aim was
to gather precise data on the total number and area of
the different types of land holdings, which could in turn
be used as a sampling frame for statistical surveys.

127 Statistical data on the export of copra, bananas, and
other produce were gathered from records available at the
121 Tonga Copra and Tonga Produce Boards. These data were
439 important to the study because a large percentage of the
produce exported through these Boards originates from the
small landholders' bush allotments.

125 A year-long study of Talamahu Market in the capital
443 city of Nuku'alofa was carried out. Talamahu Market is
the only permanent market place in the Kingdom which serves
125 as an outlet for local produce. Throughout 1971 and the
beginning of 1972, the market was visited at least once a
week to determine the seasonality and types and quantities
of produce that were available.

125 On Saturday, January 22, 1972 from 6:00 A.M. to
114 10:00 P.M., seven senior high school students helped make
a complete inventory of the amount, origin, destination,
and means of transportation of all available commodities
for a single day.

127 Black-and-white aerial photography (at a scale of
128 1:20,000), flown in August 1968 for the British Directorate

127 of Overseas Surveys, was used in the construction of an
128 agricultural land use/vegetation map of Tongatapu and a
transect across the island. The agricultural land use/
vegetation map was constructed on a cellulose acetate
overlay using a photomosaic (46 photos). Most boundaries
were later field checked and verified or corrected as
necessary.

125 The transect across the island was constructed using
a single photo of a 2.04 mile(3.29 kilometer) strip be-
tween the windward south coast (the liku) and the northern
lagoon (Tahi Kele). The transect was drawn on an acetate
overlay and sectioned into 52 equal segments of approx-
imately 69 yards (63.3 meters) each. The entire length
of the transect was then paced, and at each 69 yard interval
the crop types, plant species, agricultural practices, and
133 elevational changes were recorded. The transect illustrates
137 the heterogeneity of the Tongan agricultural landscape from
the steep windward south coast, which is characterized by
littoral forest and savanna, to the low-lying leeward north
coast, which is characterized by swamp and mangrove forests.

125 Random ground reconnaissance surveys were made of
both the bush allotments ('api 'uta) and the town allot-
ments ('api kolo) to gather accurate statistical data on
[423] the nature of the agricultural system. The land tenure
[241] system in Tonga is ideally suited to a random sampling
survey because all of these allotments have been surveyed

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[312]
and wells. Studies indicate that: the ground water table is always considerably less than a meter above mean sea level and it oscillates only a few inches; the effects of tidal oscillation (1.3 meters) on the water table extend only a few hundred meters inland; and the depth of the water table beneath the surface ranges from a few meters near sea level in the north to about 46 meters in the southeast. [312] Also, a comparison of determinations made in 1959 and 1965 indicates that the chloride content in most wells is increasing, possibly as a result of seawater influx due to an excessively high pumping rate (Pfeiffer, 1971: 6-14).

As stated by Pfeiffer (1971: 1): "For additional exploitation of groundwater, it is necessary to know the thickness of the freshwater lens lying above the brackish and salty water in the deeper subsurface."

132

Climate

The island of Tongatapu is barely within the tropics, almost on the Tropic of Capricorn. The island is under the influence of the maritime tropical (mT) air of the Trade Wind belt and, according to Köppen's system, would be classified as having an Am climate.

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The following climatic description is based primarily on data from the government meteorological station in Nuku'alofa.

132 **Humidity**

The humidity in Tongatapu is relatively high throughout the year, averaging about 79 percent, with only minor differences from one season to another (Table 5).

Table 5. Mean relative humidity, Nuku'alofa (1949-1970).

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	Annual
%	81	82	83	81	77	78	76	76	77	77	77	78	79

Although no quantitative data are available, sunny days on Tongatapu far out-number cloudy days.

132 182 241 In short, the climate of Tongatapu is mild and moist, having adequate warmth, rainfall, and sunshine to support a viable agricultural system. However, the yearly distribution of rainfall is unreliable, and often brings about periods of prolonged drought. The occurrence, although infrequent, of gale force winds also proves to be an adverse climatic factor.

Soils

● 127 Only limited data are available on the properties and distribution of Tongatapu soils. A preliminary soil survey was carried out by the New Zealand Soil Bureau (Gibbs, 1969) and analyses of selected soil samples have been carried out by Cottrell-Dormer (1941), Maude (1965), and Spier (1971). It is primarily upon these data that the

127 following description of Tongatapu soils is based.

134 The *kelekele* (soils) of Tongatapu are traditionally divided into upland soils or *kelefatu*, generally found at elevations greater than 10 feet (about 3 meters) above sea level; and lowland soils or *tou'one*, generally found close to sea level (Figure 7). There are also limited areas of coral rock along the southern, windward coast which are of little or no agricultural value.

The upland soils or *kelefatu* are deep friable clays of moderate to high natural fertility and cover approximately 90 percent of Tongatapu. The soils in this group are the most valuable for agricultural purposes and resemble the low humic latosols of Hawaii. They range in color from red-brown to black or dark brown, and have been formed by the weathering of layers of volcanic ash. They are underlain by a coral limestone base at depths ranging from three to ten feet (one to three meters) (Cottrell-Dormer, 1941; 3). Their moderate to high fertility is due primarily to the volcanic parent material. The weathering not only supplies macro-and micro-nutrients but also high concentrations of colloidal aluminum and iron oxides, which help maintain the soil's friable free-draining properties.

These upland soils have been divided into two subgroups by Gibbs (1967) on the basis of minor differences in color, stickiness, and structure of the subsoil:

423 Minister, into 56 4 1/8 acre (1.7 hectares) allotments; and
11 other 4 acre (1.6 hectares) allotments resulting from
subdivision of expired leasehold land southeast of Utulau.

423 Town allotments, which are supposed to be 2/5 acre
361 (0.2 hectares) in size, are located in the 59 town reserves
throughout Tongatapu (Figure 3).^A Each of these town
reserves is subdivided into numerous town allotments or
[128] '*api kolo*. Figures 10 and 11 are examples of the sub-
division of the town reserves of Houma and Kolonga into
[127] individual town allotments ('*api kolo*). There is very
little information regarding the exact number and acreage
of town allotments on Tongatapu. Nevertheless, based on
figures in the *Report of the Lands and Survey Department*
(Government of Tonga, 1971a:Appendix I), there are probably
[114] between 4,000 and 5,000 town allotments. Hardaker (1971:25)
[162] quotes a figure of over 13,000 town allotments for Tonga-
tapu, but this seems unlikely considering that the total
number of households on Tongatapu, at the 1966 census, was
only just over 6,000. Most allotments are probably close
to the statutory size although there are many oversized and
undersized allotments.

423 The portions of hereditary estates which have been
311 reserved for the holders and their families comprise about
3,100 acres (1,255 hectares). These parcels are generally
used for food or commercial crops. In some cases, the land
has been put into plantations for the production of copra

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^A [See Category 361, p. 14--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE

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●[127]

Appendix F. Hereditary estates on Tongatapu: titles, locations and approximate areas (Source: Records of Lands and Survey Department, Nuku'alofa and maps of the land tenure units of Tongatapu, which were used in the computation of the approximate area of Ma'afu's estate).

Nobles' or Matapules' Hereditary Estates

Title	Location or Names of Estates	Approximate Area Acres	Approximate Area Hecrares
Tungi	Mu'a, Fua'amotu, Kai'avale Ha'atu'i, Navutoka and Kauvai	8,617	3,490
Kalaniuvalu	Lapaha, Hoi, Nukuleka, Makaunga, Hamula and Toloa	5,734	2,322
Tu'ipelehake	Pelehake	1,892	766
Nuku	Kolonga, Poha and Kotongo	3,019	1,223
Ma'afu	Tokomololo and Vaini	5,000	2,025
Lavaka	Fualu and Pea	1,589	644
Fielakepa	Haveluloto	242	98
'Ata	Kolovai	587	238
Ve'ehala	Fahefa	553	224
Tu'iha'ateiho	Ha'ateiho and Vaikeli	1,827	740
Luani	Nakolo, Malapo and Fetoa	680	275
Tu'ilakepa	Talasiu	410	166
Vaea	Houma	2,199	891
Fakafanua	Ma'ufanga	1,116	452
Vaha'i	Fo'ui	466	189
Tu'ivakano	Nukunuku, Matafonua, Matahau and Vaotu'u	3,673	1,488

A truly balanced design for the future must 179
combine the tourist interests with the other interests,
both economic and cultural, in Tongan life.

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13. TTC, August 8, 1974.

14. De Bres 1974:8.

15. Ron Crocombe 1972:6; and see Crocombe 1973.

16. United Nations 1969: paragraph 13.

17. TTC, April 10, 1975.

18. TTC, February 20, 1975.

19. For future research dealing specifically with 179
Tonga, the reader is encouraged to look to an M.A. in 648
Anthropology from California State University, Chico, 457
by Mr. R.B. Johnson Jr. Mr. Johnson gathered informa- 178
tion on tourism and culture change in Tonga over the 127
period February 1976-July 1976, and I am indebted
to him for some recent discussions.

20. TTC, March 27, 1975. 000

21. P.D. Wallis 1971:21.

22. Tongans still enjoy their traditional *kava* drink, 178
but as stated elsewhere (1975b:46-47), when Tongans 457
begin to consume more alcohol than *kava*, "Tonga will 273
indeed have some problems, for this will be an indica- 274
tion that the basic fabric of their culture and society 276
has shifted."

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23. TTC, August 22, 1974.

24. TTC, October 12, 1972.

25. Anonymous 1970:20.

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TONGA: NEW INTERPRETATIONS OF TONGAN SOCIETY AND MATERIAL CULTURE AT THE TIME OF CAPTAIN COOK

ADRIENNE L. KAEPPLER
Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum

175 Although Tonga was discovered in 1616 by Le Maire, fleetingly described by Tasman in 1643, and the northern islands were seen by Wallis in 1767, real knowledge of Tongan culture had to await Captain Cook's visits. The written accounts 175 and ethnographic collections resulting from Cook's voyages are often our major source for understanding the character of Tongan culture in the eighteenth century. 127 Yet, despite drawings, descriptions, and identifications which are outstanding for their time, little work has been done to interpret this early material in the light of other kinds of research in order to delineate the relationship between material culture and the social system.

[121] This article presents the preliminary results of several years' research in the field, in libraries, and in museums in the Pacific, America and Europe, in which materials from Cook's voyages have played a central role. Cook's visits to Tonga (1773–4) on his second voyage are most important here. For although the visits were short, a [439] great deal of trading was done; and only specimens and descriptions collected at [177] that time are certain to be relatively free from European influence.[1]

Despite the abundance of artefacts and descriptions, their location and inter- 127 pretation are not as simple as one might expect.[2] Cook's crew often sold their [439] 'curiosities' to the highest bidders and labels seldom accompanied them. At that [175] time, moreover, some of the outstanding museums were private, for example, those of George Humphrey, The Duchess of Portland, Daniel Boulter, William Bullock, and especially Sir Ashton Lever. Most of these early collections were eventually sold at auctions, and so the specimens became widely dispersed, often with the subsequent loss of the association with Cook. The owners of such 'cabinets of curiosities' usually had little interest in the precise identification or technical significance of the material, and items were regularly labelled simply 'South Seas'; indeed, 'Otahiti' often became a catchall term for the entire area. Some objects found their separate way to the British Museum, but little care was exercised in labelling them, either as having come from Cook's voyages or as to their original provenance. In fact most of these specimens seem not to have been numbered or labelled at the time of their acquisition. In the late nineteenth century, however, they were catalogued along with non-Cook specimens, apparently by Edge-Partington, and given a series of numbers reflecting their supposed origin. The collection was divided into four categories: *viz.*, HAW (Hawaii); TAH (Tahiti); NZ (New Zealand) and EP (eastern Polynesia). Some objects were assigned no numbers at all, and the Tongan material was for the most part not

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

recognised as a separate series. Hence, unfortunately, the provenance attributed by the British Museum to their early specimens cannot be relied on unless the material can be identified by some other independent means, as, for instance, by comparison with items of known provenance. Contrary to what one might expect, therefore, the British Museum is not the place to study Tongan objects from Cook's voyages unless one comes prepared, and in fact so far, only twelve specimens have been identified as collected on Cook's voyages either by Cranstone (personal communication), Dodge (1969: 88), or myself.

A few of the objects in the British Museum can be identified by comparison with drawings of the same objects known to be from Cook's voyages; for example, a basket now in the British Museum was depicted by Sarah Stone in a group of watercolours done in Sir Ashton Lever's Museum, probably in 1783. There is no way of knowing, however, from which of Cook's voyages most of the Tongan specimens in the British Museum derive. Only two of the Tongan objects can be confidently identified as coming from the second voyage. These are a rectangular basket and a basketry-covered wooden vessel which were depicted in a group of pen-and-ink drawings of artefacts noted 'Cleveley 1774'[3] (British Museum Add. M.S. 23,920).[4]

Collections known to have come from Cook's second voyage are in Dublin, Göttingen, Stockholm, and Oxford. Those in Dublin and Göttingen, however, are mixed with specimens from the third voyage; and the Stockholm second voyage Sparrman collection is sometimes confused in the ascription of original provenance (Söderstrom 1939: 41). However, the J. R. Forster collection at the Pitt Rivers Museum, which was made on Cook's second voyage, is accompanied by a *Catalogue of curiosities*, a contemporary detailed, numbered list of the collection by provenance (probably written by one of the Forsters) (see Gathercole & Kaeppler in press). This document was mislaid early in the nineteenth century; but its rediscovery in 1969 has established the Forster collection at the Pitt Rivers Museum as both the best documented second voyage collection and as the only ethnological collection made on Cook's voyages which includes original documentation on provenance and use. What had appeared as old and, indeed, meaningless numbers on the Pitt Rivers Museum specimens turn out to match the numbers in the *Catalogue of curiosities*.

The largest part of the collection, comprising some sixty items, is from Tonga, which also makes the Pitt Rivers Museum the site of one of the largest collections of early Tongan materials. A similar collection, and perhaps the 'other half' of the J. R. Forster material, is in Göttingen and was obtained in 1799, the year after Forster's death. The Göttingen Forster collection, however, is mixed with a collection bought from the London dealer George Humphrey (Manfred Urban, personal communication) which includes specimens from the second and third voyages (Dawson 1958: 110). Nevertheless some of the Forster specimens in Göttingen can be separated out, and it is interesting to note that the Oxford and Göttingen collections are almost duplicates of each other—indeed, parts of the same *tapa* specimen are found in both collections. Forster's large and seemingly systematic Tongan collection gives substance to his remark, that: 'their utensils, manufactures, agriculture, and music, bespeak their inventive genius and elegant taste' (Forster 1778: 235).

127 The existence of the original *Catalogue* of the Forster collection and the corres-
ponding items in the Pitt Rivers Museum make it possible to establish for Tonga
a list of 'type specimens' of known eighteenth century date, provenance, and in
most cases, use. These items establish the end product of purely indigenous lines of
development, as well as a base for change which came about because of European
contact, making it possible to use concepts of time depth and change in studying
this material culture. On the basis of these type specimens, we can identify other
Tongan collections, and consequently separate Tongan materials from Tahitian,
which in most collections have been hopelessly mixed. Moreover, by comparing
the Pitt Rivers collection with the sister collection in Göttingen, and with informa-
tion from other eighteenth century voyages, notably Cook's third voyage and those
of Malaspina (1792) and d'Entrecasteaux (1793), we can build up what seems to be
a fairly reliable picture of much of Tongan material culture in the eighteenth
[121] century.[8] Finally, by interpreting these data in the light of ethnohistoric and
ethnographic research, we can understand how these items were used and how they
reflected the stratified social system of Tonga.

* * * * *

173 According to Tongan tradition, one day the god Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a
climbed down from the sky on a great ironwood (casuarina) tree and cohabited
with a woman of the earlier Tongan population who had descended from a worm.
The child of this union was 'Aho'eitu. When 'Aho'eitu was old enough he went
to the sky to visit his father, and returned with several celestial inhabitants. This
173 was the origin of Tongan social structure and rank. 'Aho'eitu, half-man, half-god,
565 became the first Tu'i Tonga—the first king. His celestial half-brother, Talafale,
643 became Tu'i Faleua, i.e., head of the second house. Four others, known as the
Falefa, became ceremonial attendants to the king, each with specific duties, e.g.,
organising the king's funeral. All these personages were socially elevated above
Tongan commoners—the *tu'a*, who had descended from the worm. This myth
thus provides a charter for one pattern of Tongan rank—the stratification of the
society into *tu'i* (king), *'eiki* (chiefs), *matāpule* (ceremonial attendants), and *tu'a*
(commoners) (see Kaeppler in press).

'Aho'eitu, half-man, half-god, is said to have lived over a thousand years ago
(about A.D. 950) and all the chiefs of Tonga today claim descent from him through
collateral segmentation. The chiefs are ranked according to the order of the
[613] splitting of their titles from the Tu'i Tonga line, and these lines (*ha'a*) are also ranked
internally according to the same collateral principles.

565 The commoners are thus differentiated from the chiefs, and the chiefs are
ranked in relation to each other. Each chief receives respect from his people—and
he, in turn, must respect the higher ranking chiefs. At the top of this hierarchy is the
[643] Tu'i Tonga, descending in a direct line from the god Tangaloa. The thirty-sixth
[173] Tu'i Tonga was Paulaho, whom Captain Cook met on his third voyage.

The most crucial concept for any understanding of Tongan culture, in Captain
Cook's time or today, is that of hierarchical ranking. All inter-personal relationships
in this island kingdom are governed by principles of rank, and language, food and
[175] material culture reflect this pattern. Cook and his companions did not have
sufficient time or knowledge of the language to sort out the intricacies of the system

175 as Cook says, but perhaps his sister's son or someone else of higher *kāinga* rank.
765 Anderson says that it was for a chief who had died at Vava'u some time before
554 (Beaglehole 1967: 911). This is quite likely, as Vava'u was the home of Sinaitakala,
i.e., the Tu'i Tonga's father's sister (mother of Latu) and individuals of this line
612 were of higher *kāinga* rank than the Tu'i Tonga. Cook tells us that to the mourning
ceremony the king wore 'an old ragged mat that might have served his great grand
[292] Father on some such like occasion: his Servants or those who attended him were all
dressed in the same manner, excepting none of them having quite so ragged a Mat
round them as their master' (Beaglehole 1967: 140).

This demonstrates once again that even the Tu'i Tonga was outranked within his
612 *kāinga*. The same practice exists today for *liongi* of the high chiefs. For example, at
602 the funeral of Queen Sālote in 1965 it was an honour to wear the most ragged
764 mats, for it demonstrated visually that one was related to the queen (plate 1*c*).[A]
765 Queen Sālote's mother came from the Tu'i Tonga line making that line *liongi* to the
292 queen—and thus the wearers of the most ragged of mats and the presenters of the
most valued of ceremonial gifts, i.e., fine mats.

* * * * *

121 In this rank-oriented society, material culture held an important place. A few
types of material culture will be discussed here to illustrate the usefulness of descriptions and collections from Cook's voyages for research on the interrelationships
of social organisation and material culture. It was historical accident that the chiefs
175 met on the second voyage were lower than the chiefs met on the third voyage, and
565 also that some of the collections of artefacts from the two voyages can be separated.[8]
554 These accidents make it possible to relate existing specimens not only to the class
126 structure, but also to levels of chiefs, through written accounts from Cook's
voyages and also through traditions still existing in Tonga.

The first type of material culture to be dealt with will be mats, which are the
285 most necessary part of the *koloa* or gifts for any ceremony—be it a societal one or
[431] one within the family (family ceremonies having the same attributes as societal
ones, only on a smaller scale). Mats have an intricate ranking system of their own,
being classified by material and manner of fabrication. All the types of mats known
285 today through fieldwork do not exist in eighteenth century collections. This may
● 127 be for any one of a number of reasons. They may not have been collected; they
may have been collected but then traded to other Polynesians; they may not have
been in vogue at that time; they may not have been identified by their collectors as
Tongan; or they may simply not have been preserved.

In his second voyage account Cook tells us 'they also make various sorts of Matts
175 of a very fine texture which serve them both for Cloathing and beding. Their
285 Dress is a piece of Cloth or Matting wraped round their Middle reaching from the
291 breast down below the knee, they seldom wear anything over their Shoulders or
upon their heads. The dress of the Men and Women are the same' (Beaglehole
1961: 266–7). By the third voyage, however, Cook realises that dress is a visual
[654] symbol of rank and adds that 'large pieces of Cloth and fine Matting are only
wore by the superior people, the inferior sort put up with small pieces . . . or the
Maro, which is a narrow piece of cloth or matting like a Sash' (Beaglehole 1967:
175 168). Cook finds also that 'they have mats made on purpose to sleep upon' (1967:
285
513 [A] [See End Plate 1, following p. 220--Analyst]

175

169). And, as mentioned above, ragged mats were worn for mourning ceremonies. 285
However, Cook does not list the function of mats as ceremonial gifts, which is [513]
understandable because he did not attend complete funeral or wedding ceremonies [292]
—the main occasions of ceremonial giving. [765]

Forster's *Catalogue of curiosities* lists eight plaited items, seven of which are called [431]
mats and one an apron, and George Forster mentions 'their elegant mats, which for 127
workmanship and variety excelled even those of Taheitee' (1777: I, 439). 285

Number 53 in the Forster collection is listed as 'a strong matt, with a black
pattern' (plate 2*a*).[A] It is made of light-coloured pandanus (127 cm. × 207 cm.)
decorated with a diagonal pattern of black pandanus, and appears to be unfinished
if spread out. This item may be a *ta'ovala la*. According to Tongan tradition certain [565]
matāpule (ceremonial attendants), whose function it was to supervise ceremonies
such as installations of title holders and funerals of chiefs, wore a waist mat decorated
with black pandanus that came to a point in the back. If this mat were folded
diagonally and then wrapped, the design would be on the outside, a triangle would
hang to the back, and the part that was folded inside need not be decorated. The
only other example of a *ta'ovala la* so far located is in the Museum and Art Gallery,
Glasgow, and it is plaited so that one side comes to a triangular point and need
not be folded.

Item Number 56, listed as a mat 'pierced with holes' (plate 2*b*),[A] is probably one
of the items George Forster described in his journal as aprons, 'curiously wrought
of mats in resemblance of fretwork' (1777: I, 474). This type of garment is a *kie fau* [314]
or *tennga fau* and is made of the inner bark of the hibiscus tree (*fau*) that has been
partially rotted in sea water. The texture is fine and delicate, and the manufacture
is a difficult enterprise in contrast to the plaiting of sturdy pandanus mats. *Kie fau*
were worn as waist mats only by chiefs—*kie fau* indicating chiefly rank, just as
wearing the *ta'ovala la* indicated that one was a certain kind of *matāpule*.

There are three different types of *kie fau*. The type represented by the Pitt Rivers
example (160 cm. × 86 cm.) is plaited with square holes and has a fringe of tabs
sewn on with twisted '*olongā* (*Pipturus argenteus*) fibre. A second type with much
more openwork is found in Museum collections in Cambridge, Dublin, Bern, and
Newcastle—all of which have Cook collections—but it is not always known that
these particular specimens are from Cook's voyages. The third kind of *kie fau* has
small plaited tabs that form an upper layer plaited out from a solid bottom layer.
This type is in the Cook collections in Vienna and Stockholm, and there is one in
Madrid that was collected by the Spaniard Malaspina in Vava'u in 1792. The manufacture of these types of *kie fau* was probably discontinued in the early nineteenth
century. Today *fau* fibre is crocheted into openwork patterns for similar, but more [178]
easily made, decorative pieces that can be worn by anyone. The openwork
technique is still known, but the more easily worked pandanus is used instead of
fau. The functional replacement of the *kie fau*, i.e., the chief's waist mat, is now a soft, [439]
fine pandanus mat decorated with red feathers and imported from Samoa. This
suggests that when the Tongan high ranking *kie fau* ceased to be made there was
nothing of local manufacture that was of high enough status to replace it, and a
foreign product was brought in.

But the most precious of all the plaited items to the Tongans, and to Cook's men [175]
as well, were the so-called 'aprons of cocoanut fibre'. Cook described them in his [531]

A. [See End Plate 2, following p. 220--Analyst]

531

127 second voyage Journal. 'They have . . . a curious apron, made of the out side 285 fibres of the Cocoanut shell and composed of a number of small pieces sewed [175] together in such a manner as to form stars, half Moons, little squars, etc., and studed with beads of shells and covered with red feathers' (Beaglehole 1961: 272). The Pitt Rivers example (plate 2*c*, 66 cm. × 66 cm.)[A] is made of star-shaped elements, each having a central section and 10 or 11 points. This item was described by George 285 Forster: 'we likewise purchased of them an apron, consisting of many wheels or 175 stars of plaited coco-nut fibres, about three or four inches in diameter, cohering 531 together by the projecting points, and ornamented with small red feathers and 126 beads cut out of shells' (1777: I, 454). One element is decorated with a pig tooth and the thirty-five elements are attached to a waistband that is unravelled at one 175 end. An examination of Forster's account tells us why.

> 285 We accidentally procured a quantity of these feathers at Amsterdam, one of the Friendly 126 Isles, where they fastened them on pieces of their stuffs. These being carried to O-Taheitee, [435] and shared out in little pieces, procured us a great number of hogs; for a bit of two inches square, covered with feathers, would at any time, be eagerly purchased with a hog (1778: 207); when we came the second time in 1774, to O-Taheitee after we had been to Tonga Tabu, where the natives make various ornaments of red feathers, we procured for them not only numbers of hogs, the most valuable article of trade, but likewise mourning dresses, which the natives refused to part with before, when Mr Banks was there, and during our first stay in their happy isle. The rage after these trifling ornaments was so great, that Potatoa a chief, whose magnanimity and noble way of thinking, we never questioned before, wanted even to prostitute his own wife, for a parcel of these baubles (1778: 367).

285 These aprons are known in Tongan traditions as *sisi fale*, and were worn only by 127 high chiefs. Parts of at least twenty specimens of *sisi fale* have so far been recorded [292] in museum collections. The usual elements are stars, rectangles, lozenges, crescents, and ovals—the elements and their combinations being quite distinctive. An inter- [531] esting example of secondary use of a Tongan *sisi fale* by Tahitians is that two elements were used to decorate one of their human images which is now in the British Museum (TAH. 63). These two elements—now mostly denuded of their red feathers—are used for a head covering and a loincloth. It is possible that the element that forms the loincloth of the image is part of the *sisi fale* now in the Pitt Rivers Museum and perhaps traded to the Tahitians by Forster. Unfortunately, the British Museum specimen does not have any accession or collection information. It is interesting to speculate that perhaps Cook collected it himself on his third voyage. The half of the *sisi fale* in the Pitt Rivers Museum is probably what was left after Forster shared out two inch squares to the Tahitians, perhaps for the very Tahitian mourning dress in the Pitt Rivers Museum.

Two parts of another *sisi fale* from Cook's voyages exist in Vienna and Florence. Both of these seem to have come from the sale of the Leverian Museum in London in 1806, and probably originally came from Cook's third voyage. Another *sisi fale* that can quite confidently be identified is in the Musée de l'Homme, Paris. Unfortunately, again there is no collection or accession information, but I suspect that it is the one depicted in Labillardière (1802: 32), and thus collected on d'Entrecasteaux's voyage in 1793. Only the Pitt Rivers *sisi fale*, however, can be traced [175] to Cook's second voyage—probably for several reasons: the chiefs interacted with during the second voyage were not the highest ones; Cook was not present during

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[A] [See End Plate 2, following p. 220--Analyst]

127

occasions in which *sisi fale* were used; and those *sisi fale* that were obtained were 285
traded to the Tahitians for hogs, and mourning dresses and other curiosities. We (175)
must be ever grateful to Forster for saving at least half of his. There is also part of a
sisi fale in Göttingen, but according to the curator, this does not come from the
Forster part of the collection.

Cook explains the function of the *sisi fale* in his third voyage account. 'In their 285
great Haivas, or Dances they dress in various dresses which are made for the 292
purpose but the method is allways the same; the richest dresses are those covered (175)
more or less with red feathers' (Beaglehole 1967: 168). No *sisi fale* exist today in (535)
Tonga, but according to tradition they were worn by high chiefs for ceremonial (531)
dress or dancing. A specimen in one collection is noted 'Kafolalanga worn by the (127)
Tamaha and the Tu'i Tonga on feast days.' The word is probably *kofulalanga*, (643)
which simply means woven dress. One of the examples in Florence is connected (644)
with the Tamaha in yet another way. The individual elements that make up the
sisi fale are a design used by the Tamaha. The design, a circle with an abstract tree, (531)
is said to represent an '*akau ha'amo*, carrying pole of a special kind of wood, used (482)
by the Ha'a Ngata to bring gifts to the Tamaha.

Also of feathers, and the most spectacular of all objects of indigenous Tongan 292
manufacture, were feather headdresses. These highest of visual symbols could be 554
worn only by the highest of chiefs—and perhaps only by the Tu'i Tonga himself. (643)
During Cook's third voyage sojourn in Tonga, Finau left Cook on May 23 175
ostensibly to go to Vava'u 'to get some red feathered caps for me [Cook] and 292
Omai to carry to Otaheite where they are in high esteem' (Beaglehole 1967: 112). 554
Finau seems not to have succeeded for he fabricates a story that the canoe was lost
in high wind. Anderson offers us an explanation: 'The truth probably was that he
found himself unable to procure the things at Va'vaoo which he expected, or if
he did get any and heard at Hapaee which lay in his way back that Poulaho had
been with us he might leave them there, as he doubtless knew the merit of procuring them would have fallen to the share of his superior though he had been at
the trouble' (Beaglehole 1967: 886).

Only Paulaho, the Tu'i Tonga, presents the treasure. 292

> [he] came on board betimes and brought me one of their Caps made or at least covered with 554
> red feathers: these Caps were much sought after by us from knowing that they would be 643
> highly valued at Otaheite. But though very large prices were offered not one was ever 175
> brought for sale, which shewed they were no less valuable to the people here, nor was there a (435)
> person in either Ship that got one but myself Capt. Clerke and Omai. These Caps or rather
> bonnets are made of the tail feathers of the Tropic bird with the red feathers of the Paroquets (237)
> worked upon them or in along with them, they are made so as to tie upon the forehead without any Crown, and have the form of a Simicircle whose radius is 18 or 20 Inches; But a
> painting which Mr. Webber has made of Fattafee Polaho dressed in one of these bonnets will
> convey the best idea of them (Beaglehole 1967: 117).

Two of these rare items were given to the Tahitians—but little did Cook know 175
that these feather headdresses were among the rarest of all Polynesian artefacts. 292
Cook wanted to procure hogs and perhaps Tahitian mourning dresses—but these 127
latter exist in relatively large numbers in museum collections. Mourning dresses (643)
were worn by a number of chiefs but probably only the Tu'i Tonga had feather
headdresses. Since two were given away by Cook, there was still a chance that one

175 more existed. There is a specimen in the Vienna collection—but we do not know
292 that it was collected on Cook's voyages. The accession information says only that it
127 came to the Museum für Völkerkunde from Belvedere Castle in 1877 (plate 3a).[9] A

127 The Cook collection in Vienna was purchased by Leopold von Fictell at the
127 Leverian sale in 1806. According to the annotated sale catalogue, Fictell did not
292 buy a Tongan feather headdress. However, one of the lots that he bought (1445)
was an 'Elegant feather head dress, Brazil' (Leverian Museum 1806: 61). As many
of the Leverian lots were not assigned to the correct provenance, it is interesting to
speculate that the headdress was in fact from Tonga, but not included in the Vienna
Cook collection because Cook did not go to Brazil. Perhaps the Vienna specimen
came from the Leverian sale, or from the sale of another private museum, or
perhaps it is not from Cook's voyages at all. But it is the only example of a Tongan
feather headdress identified so far. It is 31 cm. high and 54 cm. at its widest point.

292 According to well-informed Tongans the feather headdress is called *palā tavake*
643 and was worn only by the Tu'i Tonga. Tradition says that the last one was made for
175 Paulaho by Helu of Foa—perhaps to replace the ones given to Captain Cook.
Again, Cook's voyages have given us the only depicted example, the only good
554 description, and perhaps the only existing piece.

Paulaho died about 1784 and his line was defeated in civil wars shortly after.
643 Following this, there was no need for a *palā tavake* to show the divine exaltation
292 of the Tu'i Tonga because this line was no longer officially recognised. But the
[669] tradition of the headdresses was perpetuated in two quite different ways. Chiefs in
feather headdresses were carved on Tongan war clubs and these exist on several
532 museum specimens. The example depicted (plate 3b) is from the Peabody Museum,
292 Salem, Massachusetts. It would seem that the carving of human figures and other
[177] ideographs did not reach the peak of efflorescence until the coming of European
tools. Perhaps these carvings of chiefs in feather headdresses were stimulated by the
high esteem placed on the headdresses by Europeans.

292 That the tradition of *palā tavake* was not forgotten is also shown by a dance text
532 composed by Queen Sālote in 1966:

643 Ke fataki nima he 'aho ko ē	And raise our hearts on this day
[539] Tu'u ai e palā tavake	Stand on the *palā tavake*

The poetry admonishes the people to do things for today and not worry about the
past and its bitterness. But in doing so one should still take tradition into account,
tradition here being symbolised by the feather headdress of the Tu'i Tonga—
Queen Sālote's line of descent through her mother. When translating this text most
[301] Tongans translated *palā tavake* as a feather comb and only a few recognised it as
feather headdress—and it would seem that a comb with red feathers later took the
[178] place of the feather headdress. Feather combs are usually known as *helu kula* and
tradition says could only be used by the Tu'i Tonga line. Queen Sālote is said to
have had one—which visually acknowledged her Tu'i Tonga background even
though she ruled as a Tu'i Kanokupolu (Ha'a Ngata).

293 Another item which history ascribes to Paulaho is a fly whisk now in the
127 Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna. It was bought at the Leverian sale where it was
listed in the catalogue as 'fly flap with a curious ornamented handle. This belonged
643 to Powlohaw King on Tongataboo' (Leverian Museum 1806: 135). This specimen

A, [See End Plate 3, following p. 220--Analyst]

and a companion in the same museum are the only examples of fly whisks made in 293
this manner. The handles are completely incised in zigzag patterns and inset with 127
ivory pieces in the form of men, birds, stars, and crescents (Moschner 1955: 222, 643
224). The carving and ivory inlay are done in the same manner as the incising of [531]
Tongan clubs, but handles of Tongan fly whisks are usually uncarved. Since fly [532]
whisks are only used by chiefs in Tonga, one would suspect that such an elaborate
one would have been the possession of a special chief. The existence of the information in the Leverian sale catalogue—that it belonged to Paulaho—was the corroborating evidence we needed.

A specimen in the Pitt Rivers Museum illustrates the usual early type of fly 293
whisk (plate 4*a*).[A] It is made with a slightly tapered, polished wood handle and a whisk 127
of coconut fibre, bound by a wrapping of twisted *'olongā* fibre. It is 53 cm. in length
and a small section of the whisk is braided. An almost identical piece exists in the
Forster collection in Göttingen, and there are two similar ones in the British
Museum. The Pitt Rivers example is a good type specimen. It is the usual Tongan
type in early collections, its provenance is given as Tonga in Forster's list, such
whisks still exist in Tonga, and an engraving in Labillardière (1802: plate 33) is
virtually identical. Another whisk of this type, but with a bone handle, exists in [114]
Bern in the Webber collection from the third voyage, but its provenance is given as
Tahiti. It is certainly Tongan, and can now be separated from the Tahitian materials.

The fly whisk, *fue kafa*, was an important symbol of rank in Tonga. It was mani- 293
pulated in a specific manner, called *fuefue*, which took practice and deftness of 554
hand. A Tongan proverb puts it nicely: 'Who is this fellow who wields his *fue* [538]
like a commoner?' This proverb is used today for anyone who is presumptuous
beyond his status. The *fue* is a good example of the reflection of social stratification
in material culture. The Tu'i Tonga was chief of the chiefs. The *fue*, a visual status [643]
symbol that could be used by all chiefs, was differentiated when used by the Tu'i [565]
Tonga in a manner befitting his high rank.

Incising of the designs in wood was done by means of a shark-tooth implement 412
represented in the Pitt Rivers Museum by Forster specimen Number 174, 'shark's 127
tooth set in wood, from the Friendly Isles' (plate 4*b*[A](i)). Before Forster's Cata- [237]
logue was found in 1969, this specimen was noted '?Tahiti.' This provenance may
have been derived from comparing it with a similar specimen in the British
Museum that is in the TAH series, but one must remember that the TAH series
reflects the views of a nineteenth century cataloguer and that, for the most part,
the Tongan items were not separated from the Tahitian. Also in reference to this
erroneous British Museum provenance, Duff in his recent catalogue ascribed a
similar tool in the Canterbury Museum, New Zealand, to Tahiti (Duff 1969: 26). [114]
But I think there can be little doubt that this tool type is Tongan.

We are indebted on this account to Forster for two reasons. Not only does he 412
state clearly that this tool is from Tonga but he also gave its companion tool (plate 175
4*b* (ii)), a nail set in a handle of bone. This specimen (Forster 101a) he lists as 'An old [177]
nail, brought to the friendly Isles by Tasman in 1643 and preserved by the Natives,
& used as a gouge or borer'. Thus, though one might question his attribution
of the shark-tooth tool to Tonga, one could hardly question the nail attribution.
And this is crucial, for the hafting is virtually identical. Reinold Forster describes
this piece, or a similar one, in his *Observations:* '... when we landed at Tonga-tabu [439]

[A] [See End Plate 4, following p. 220--Analyst]

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

412

175 one of the natives sold a very small nail carefully fastened in a handle of hard wood, [439] and tied to it by strings of coconut-core. This nail was undoubtedly left by Tasman, [127] who was there in 1643, and consequently had been preserved 130 years, and is now lodged amongst other curiosities in the British Museum' (1778: 368). Perhaps there 412 is such an implement in the British Museum with a nail lodged in hard wood; 127 however, they have no record of it. The Pitt Rivers specimen has a handle of [554] bone—a perceived Tongan alternative which probably indicated that its use was restricted to the higher ranks as we have also seen in the bone and wood handles of fly whisks (i.e., Bern and Pitt Rivers specimens). It is certainly possible that there [175] were at least two such hafted nail implements, for Cook discovers on his third voyage, that,

> [177] on my enquireing of Fattafee the King how they came by the Knowledge of iron and a small [439] iron tool I saw here last Voyage, he told me it came from Onnuahtabutabu [Niuatoputapu], and on asking him how the people of that island came by it, he said one of them sold a Club for five Nails to a Ship which came to the island [Wallis in 1767], and that these five Nails after wards came to Tongatabu and were the first they had seen, so that the Iron they got from Captain Tasman must have been worn out and forgot long ago (Beaglehole 1967: 162).

Two implements almost identical to the Forster shark-tooth example exist in Dublin and another in Vienna. The Vienna specimen was noted in the first inventory [284] of the collection as an engraving instrument from Tonga (Moschner 1955: 139), and has a bark cloth padding under the sennit binding—a very Tongan way of 412 hafting, also used for the hafting of adzes. Finally, yet another specimen is en- 412 graved in Labillardière (1802: plate 32) with a very good accompanying des- 322 cription:

> we saw several [Tongans] who were employed in carving others [clubs] with shark's teeth fixed into the extremity of a piece of wood. We were astonished to see them quickly notch, with this sort of chisel, *casuarina* wood, notwithstanding its extreme hardness. Others already used with much dexterity some of the iron instruments which we had given them (1802: 147–8).

In this case there is no possibility of confusion with Tahiti, for Labillardière did not go to Tahiti.

714 One specimen in the Pitt Rivers Museum (plate 5*a*)[A] appeared at first to be not 127 Tongan at all and its use was even more mysterious—a large thin plate of whale-bone with the edges curved and having three holes at one edge and labelled Number 237 62. Before the original Forster catalogue was found, it was labelled New Zealand. The *Catalogue*, however, lists Number 62 as 'a Shield made of Bone, probably of a cetaceous animal', and is designated as Tongan. In George Forster's account [175] of the voyage we find the description and collection information: 'we bought a [439] large flat shield or breast-plate, of a roundish bone, white and polished like ivory, about eighteen inches in diameter, which appeared to have belonged to an animal of the cetaceous tribe' (1777: 455). The Pitt Rivers specimen measures 18 inches and an almost indentical specimen exists in the Forster collection in Göttingen. There is also a larger and thinner one in the British Museum (no accession information or provenance). How or when these specimens were used, we are unfortunately 301 not told. One could suggest, however, that this is a large and ostentatious rendering 237 of a shell breast ornament in whale bone, which was a material of high status. The

127 [554]

[A] [See End Plate 5, following p. 220--Analyst]

Göttingen example has two holes with a coconut-fibre cord linking them. The Pitt 301
Rivers Museum lacks a cord and has three holes. Large pearl shell ornaments 237
also have either two or three holes for suspension. An example of the latter is an 127
archaeological specimen accompanied by a shell bead, found in Tonga on the chest [172]
of a skeleton. Such ornaments were also in the Forster collection, where they were
listed as part of Number 98: 'three mother of pearl shells which hang on the
breast'. These three specimens have not been located—but perhaps one of these or a
similar one is depicted by Hodges in his engraving of 'The Landing at Middle-
burgh' (plate 1*a*). A specimen exists in Bishop Museum which is complete, with
human hair and an ivory bead, and demonstrates the use of the holes and the bead
found in the archaeological context. The archaeological shell breastplate specimen [172]
would be nearly 12 inches across if complete, indicating that the whale bone item
measuring 18 inches in the Pitt Rivers Museum would not be too extraordinary.

Tongan necklaces exist in Museum collections in a great variety of materials and 301
styles. The most elaborate example is in Vienna, again from the sale of the Leverian 127
Museum and probably from Cook's third voyage, perhaps even Paulaho's orna-
ment. Fictell seems to have had the right contacts at the London sale, for the Tongan
and other specimens he chose were the best of the Leverian collections—and, by
extension, the best from Cook's third voyage. The necklace example (Moschner [237]
1955: 208) combines a large pearl shell with a waterworn pebble (often used for
decorating graves of chiefs), groups of bird bones, pointed brown shells, cowrie
shells, a shell called *pule'otu* (worn only by chiefs), and shell beads. Also in Vienna [532]
is the only example of a carved human figure so far traceable to Cook's voyages.
Two-and-a-half inches high, with holes for stringing at the back of the pendant,
this ivory piece may have been Paulaho's. The only other such item of proven
eighteenth century date is a depiction in Labillardière (1802: plate 32).

The two specimens in Vienna, again, seem to be the extraordinarily high-ranking 301
types. The more usual types are found in the Pitt Rivers Museum. These consist 127
of long strands of white and dark beads, sometimes in sections, and sometimes
alternated, as well as necklaces employing several strands of bird bone. One of the 237
specimens (plate 5*b*)[A] has carved ivory pendants in various shapes—cylindrical beads,
which have also been found in archaeological contexts; and an object which re-
sembles the head of a missile, which is also found on necklaces in Göttingen and
Dublin. An ivory pendant in the form of a bird is found on this Pitt Rivers
specimen, and similar birds are in Göttingen, Vienna, and in a drawing from
Labillardière (1802: plate 32).

As a final example of the use of depictions and descriptions from Cook's voyages, 534
it should be noted that even the seemingly unlikely subjects of music and dance
can be given new insights by the study of these early materials. These descriptions
serve to demonstrate both continuity and change. Webber's drawing of the nose- [175]
flute player, found in the third voyage account, suggests early morning and
depicts the seated posture and manner of holding the nose flute. The nose flute was [554]
traditionally used to awaken high chiefs—an honour which was also accorded to [513]
Queen Elizabeth of England when she visited Tonga in 1953, and a photograph [533]
taken at that time is remarkably similar to Webber's drawing. On the other hand,
the bamboo stamping tubes drawn by Webber (plate 6*a*)[B] and described by Ander-
son (Beaglehole 1967: 875), are important because this musical instrument no

A, B. [See End Plates 5 and 6 following p. 220--Analyst]

534 longer exists in Tonga and no specimens have been located in museum collections.
[175] Were it not for the Cook descriptions, one might be tempted to explain any
reference to them as the result of contact with Fiji, where they still exist.

535 A dance paddle was collected by Forster, but there are no descriptions of Tongan
412 dance in the second voyage accounts. The paddle is listed in the Tongan section
252 of the *Catalogue* as Number 81, 'a Spatule of wood to mix up their paste of bread-
fruit with', but this need not be as incorrect as it sounds. Tongans did make bread-
fruit paste and several breadfruit pounders were collected. If a utensil was necessary
at a moment's notice it is not unlikely that a discarded dance paddle would be used.
The Pitt Rivers Museum example had been broken and mended with coconut
535 fibre and its shape would be a good one for mixing breadfruit paste. The dance in
which the paddle is used (*me'etu'upaki*) was depicted and described in the third
[175] voyage accounts. A watercolour by Webber is now in the National Maritime
Museum, Greenwich,[10] and in Cook's Journal there is a detailed description
[643] (Beaglehole 1967: 109). During Cook's time this was the type of formal dance
performed on state occasions and in connection with the Tu'i Tonga's harvest
[178] ceremonies. Today this dance can only be performed by members of the village
of the Tu'i Tonga. This recognises the still exalted status of the Tu'i Tonga line
and those who descend from it, even though it is not the ruling line of today.[11]

The second dance type described and depicted in Cook's third voyage accounts,
535 the *me'elaufola*, was during Cook's time the informal dance type. An engraving
175 (plate *6a*)A shows how observant Webber was and how he has made an artistic
convention useful to research. The women on either side of the musicians are shown
with their arms in quite different positions. With a knowledge of Tongan dance
one can easily discern that Webber has depicted the beginning and end of the most
important arm movement in Tongan dance.[12] This convention was also used by
Labillardière in his depiction of another Tongan dance (1802: following p. 167).
535 The *me'elaufola* no longer exists in Tonga, but it has evolved into the new formal
[178] dance type of today, the *lakalaka*, which uses the same arm movement as that drawn
by Webber. The *lakalaka* visually and poetically acknowledges the shift in societal
power to the Ha'a Ngata. It is performed by all the adult members of a village,
who, in effect, deliver a speech in unison dramatising their words with actions and
thereby pay their allegiance to the established socio-political order of Tonga. The
[181] contemporary arrangement of dancers reflects such traditional Tongan values as
[593] sister outranking brother, resulting in brother-sister avoidance, while the place-
ment of chiefs and *matāpule* lines represented in the village, as well as the achieved
[554] status of best dancer (*mālie taha*), demonstrates how concepts of rank pervade all
Tongan life in a manner as important today as it was in the eighteenth century.

121 We conclude, then, that written accounts, illustrations, and collections made
175 on the voyages of Captain Cook have contributed new insights into the material
culture and society of Tonga. Many ethnological collections have been almost
127 totally ignored by social and cultural anthropologists for many years and the
associated documentation has often been mislaid, and in some cases destroyed. It
is occasionally possible, however, to identify and localise early specimens from
illustrations and from the records of eighteenth-century museums and private
collections, and this documentation has been crucial here in increasing our under-
121 standing of Tongan material culture. Further, the study of first hand accounts of

175 A, [See End Plate 6, following p. 220--Analyst]

social interaction among Tongans in this early period has been very useful in 121
interpreting both traditions about early Tongan social organisation that no longer 175
exists, and present-day social organisation. A fresh look at the results of Cook's voyages has been most rewarding in this attempt to interpret Tongan material culture in the context of its eighteenth-century social system, and perhaps would be equally rewarding for other island groups visited by Cook.

NOTES

This article is a revised version of a lecture given at the University of Oxford in May 1970. 121
It was associated with a special exhibition at the Pitt Rivers Museum of the J. R. Forster [127]
collection obtained on Cook's second voyage.

Research on Tongan material culture was carried out in museums in the U.S.A. mainland, 114
Hawaii, Fiji, and Europe from 1967 to 1970 supported by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for
Anthropological Research. Eighteen months fieldwork in Tonga from 1964 to 1967 was 122
supported by Wenner-Gren and Public Health Service Fellowship No. 5F1-MH-25, 984-02 (101)
from the National Institute of Mental Health. To both of these agencies I wish to express my
appreciation. I wish to thank the many museums that permitted me to study their collections, 114
especially the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, whose collection is the basis of this article, and Peter (127)
Gathercole, at that time Lecturer in Ethnology, University of Oxford, for helpful comments
on the manuscript. I would also like to acknowledge permission from the Pitt Rivers Museum,
Oxford, to publish the photographs in plates 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, and 12 taken by Peter Narracott; [128]
plate 7, supplied by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna; and plate 8, supplied by the Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts. My thanks are also due to Bruce Erickson of Bishop Museum for the prints in plates 1, 2, 3, and 13—plates 1 and 2 are from the volume of plates from Cook's second voyage, plate 13 is from the volume of plates from Cook's third voyage, and plate 3, is from a kodachrome transparency taken by the author.

[1] Not entirely free, of course, because Le Maire, Tasman, and Wallis had traded also. In fact, 000
the Forsters collected a nail that tradition said came from a European, and which was hafted in Tongan style and used as a gouge—now in Pitt Rivers Museum.

[2] See Whitehead 1969 for similar difficulties in trying to trace zoological specimens from Cook's voyages, and he was not trying to identify his specimens by voyage.

[3] Cleveley was a draughtsman who sailed on the *Adventure*, but left the Cook expedition to go to Iceland with Banks. It is likely that these objects were given to Banks after the second voyage and depicted by his artist, Cleveley, especially as it is thought that Banks gave the volume of prints in which it appears to the British Museum. The volume is noted: 'It is not known how or when these volumes came to the Print Room but probably with some others bequeathed by Sir Joseph Banks and placed there in 1832 and transferred to the Dept. of M.S. in 1845'. Perhaps the baskets were given to the Department of Ethnography at the same time. The date 1774 is a mystery. It cannot refer to the date of the drawing because the Cook expedition did not return to England until 1775. It may refer to the date of collection, because the expedition was in Tonga in 1774.

[4] The Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum also has other volumes of drawings which are very useful for identifying objects from Cook's voyage.

[5] For a comprehensive study of Tongan material culture see Kaeppler (in preparation).

[6] Smith is probably correct, for in a preliminary study for this engraving, now in the Mitchell Library, Sydney (NPL:M (PXD59-¹)), the figures in the boat are drawn by one artist (Hodges?) while the figures on shore are not only drawn by another artist (Cipriani?), but the paper on which they are sketched is pasted over the Hodges part of the sketch.

[7] It is interesting to note that the Mitchell Library sketch referred to in note 6 is done showing all the fingers on the hands—and it was probably Hodges who instructed the engraver to remove the fingers from the final version.

[8] The outstanding Tongan collections from the third voyage are the Webber collection in [127]
Bern, Switzerland, and the collection in Vienna, Austria, purchased at the sale of the Leverian Museum in London in 1806.

[9] See also Moschner 1967; colour plate 5, for a photograph of the other side of the headdress.

[10] It is reproduced in Beaglehole 1967: plate 17, following p. 144, and in Rienits & Rienits 1968: 136.

[11] For a discussion of continuity and change in Tongan dance and social organisation, see Kaeppler 1967, and 1970.

[12] The movement is written in Labanotation in Kaeppler 1967: 515.

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

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304 PLATE 1*a*. 'The Landing at Middleburgh, one of the Friendly Islands'. Engraving after W. Hodges.
782 PLATE 1*b*. *To'o nima*, finger sacrifice. Detail from 'The Landing at Middleburgh'.
292 PLATE 1*c*. Mourning mat. Funeral of Queen Sālote Tupou III, December 1965.
764 PLATE 2*a*. *Ta'ovala la*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 53.
765 PLATE 2*b*. *Kie fau*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 56.
285 PLATE 2*c*. *Sisi fale*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 61.
531 PLATE 3*a*. *Palā tavake*, feather headdress. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Austria (4672).
PLATE 3*b*. Feather headdress. Detail from a carved club. Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts (E33465).
● 127
293 PLATE 4*a*. *Fue kafa*, fly whisk. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 101.
714 PLATE 4*b*. Carving implements. i) shark tooth set in handle of wood; ii) European nail set in handle of bone. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 174 and 101a.
301 PLATE 5*a*. Whalebone breastplate. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 62.
535 PLATE 5*b*. Necklace of white shell and dark beads with ivory pieces. Pitt Rivers Museum, Foster 98.
534 PLATE 6*a*. 'A Night Dance by Women in Hapaee'. Engraving after Webber.
000 PLATE 6*b*. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru cranial vault.
PLATE 7*a*. The Iwo Eleru skull viewed from above.
PLATE 7*b*. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru mandible. Only one tooth remains in position.
PLATE 8. Pavagarh Dune, showing gentle windward slope, gullying and vegetation.

[Facing End Plate 1]

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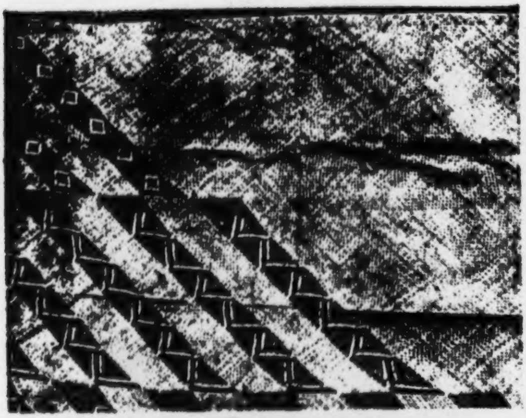

PLATE 2a.

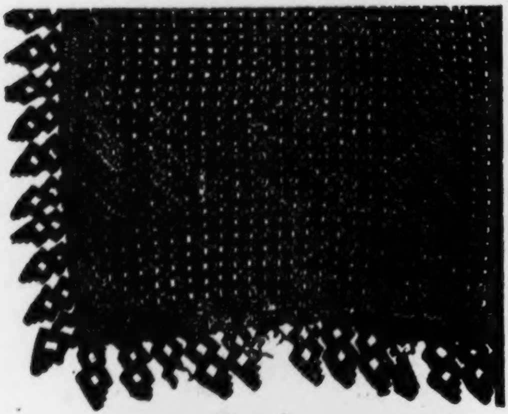

PLATE 2b.

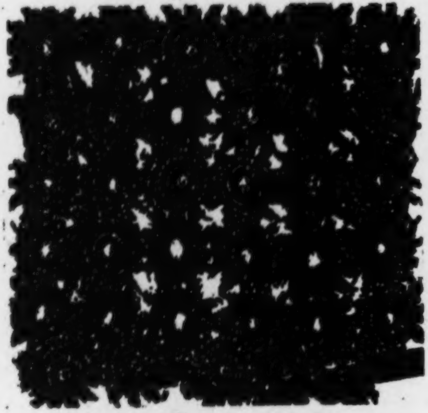

PLATE 2c.

[End plate 2]

[Captions appear on page facing End Plate 1--Analyst]

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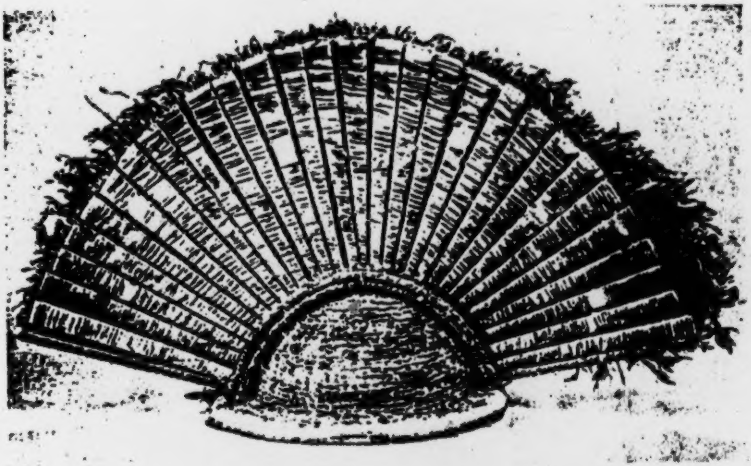

PLATE 3a.

532

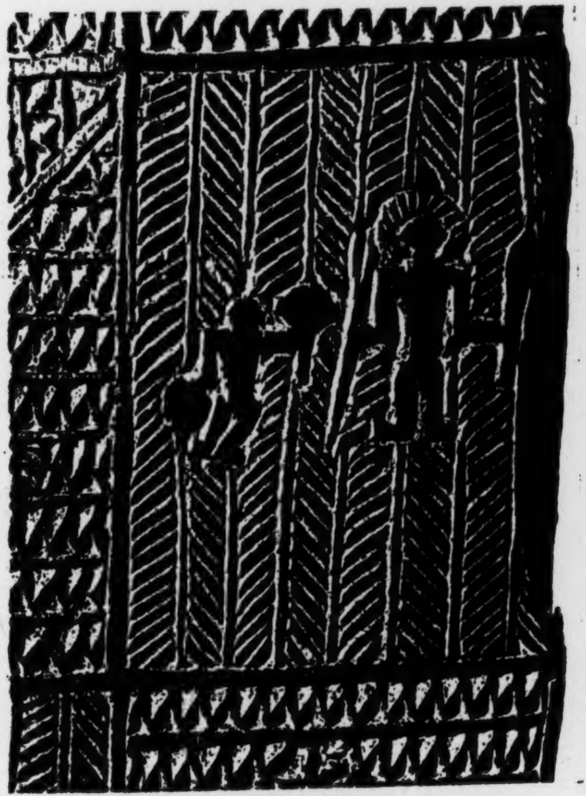

PLATE 3b.

[End Plate 3]

[Captions appear on page facing End Plate 1--Analyst]

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

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PLATE 4a.

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(i) (ii)

PLATE 4b.

[End Plate 4]

[Captions appear on page facing End Plate 1--Analyst]

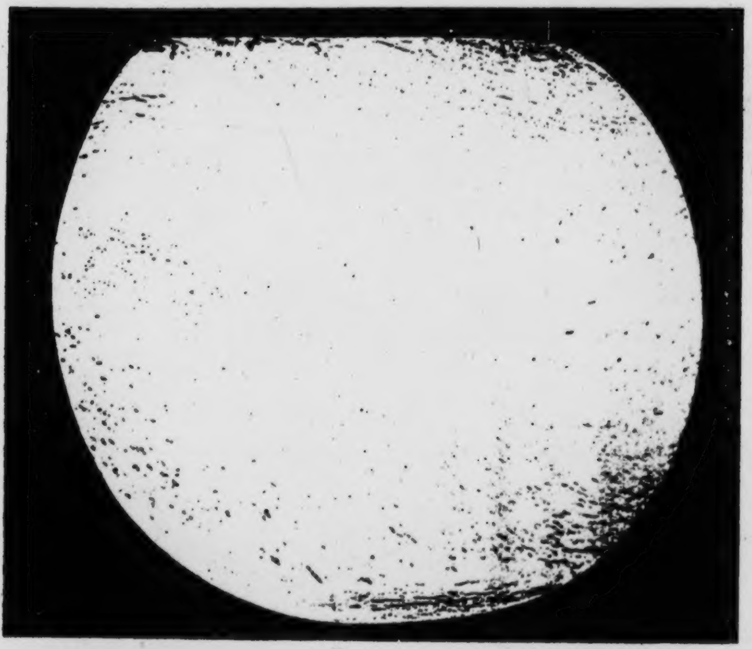

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PLATE 5a.

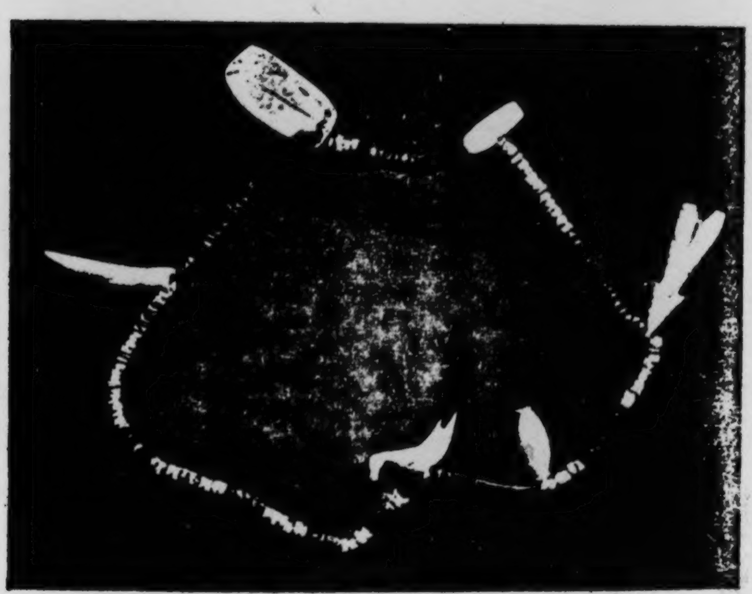

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PLATE 5b.

[End Plate 5]

[Captions appear on page facing End Plate 1--Analyst]

MOTIVES AND METHODS: MISSIONARIES IN TONGA IN THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY(1)

Charles F. Urbanowicz
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114 A variety of writers, including Scarr,(2) Rutherford,(3) Kennedy,(4) and
Barney(5) have presented more than adequate views of selected Tongan
political matters after the mid-19th century and into the early part of the
20th century. Decktor Korn's recent exemplary works(6) clearly indicate
that quite a bit of "re-thinking" is still needed in the realm of interpreting
121 changing and aboriginal Tongan culture. It is the intention of this brief
article to place early 19th century Tongan affairs into additional ethnographic perspective by means of ethnohistorical techniques.(7)

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128 1. Earlier versions of this paper were prepared for a variety of Symposia sponsored
by the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (ASAO); the 71st Annual
Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November 29–December 2,
1972; the Second Annual Meeting of the ASAO, March 21–25, 1973; and the Fourth
Annual Meeting of the ASAO, March 26–30, 1975. Numerous individuals have
commented on my Tongan work, none of whom, of course, is responsible for what
101 is presented. Research was conducted in the Polynesian Kingdom of Tonga from
July to October 1970 and again from August to October 1971. In the intervening
127 months archival research was conducted in the major libraries of Fiji, New Zealand,
and Australia. Most of the research was done in the Mitchell Library, Sydney,
Australia. Permission to work with and cite from the various sources held by the
numerous institutions is greatfully acknowledged (see Urbanowicz 1972: vi-vii).

2. Scarr 1968.
3. Rutherford 1971.
4. Kennedy 1972.
5. Barney 1974.
6. Decktor Korn 1974, 1975. Increasing interest is also evident by a forthcoming volume edited by Rutherford, advertised as *The Friendly Islands: A History of Tonga.*
7. The term "ethnohistory" is not synonymous with "culture history" as the distinguished Pacific historian H. E. Maude has written (1971:21). The "-history" in the term refers not to the writing of history, but to the application of historical methods to a given body of data, in order to gather verifiable ethnographic facts of the past. See, for example, Biggs (1960), Maranda (1964), Oppenheim (1973), Oliver (1974), or Urbanowicz (1973 and 1975). Unquestionably, historical processes are discussed in the various presentations, but the emphasis in the term "ethnohistory" is on the elucidation of reputable ethnographic evidence of the past. Oliver's 20-year labour of love, for there is no other way to phrase it adequately, is a clear example of what can be accomplished in the realm of Pacific ethnohistory, given a sufficient amount of time and resources; Maranda's work is a classic indication that some of Sahlins' specifics and generalisations (1958) are unwarranted; and Biggs and Oppenheim have each contributed to a further clarification of Maori life by means of ethnohistorical techniques.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Literature Review

Few research projects of this type, on a regional scale or limited to Tonga, have been initiated in the Pacific islands. A search through numerous texts and bibliographic materials, among other possible sources of information, supports this conclusion. Organizational work with regard to population and agricultural development in the Pacific islands has been conducted by several international groups. Most notable among these are (1) the World Health Organization, (2) the Food and Agricultural Organization, (3) the Offices of the United Nations, including the United Nations' Children's Fund, and (4) the South Pacific Commission.

The South Pacific Commission and the World Health Organization have been the most active, producing at least 16 technical reports dealing with agriculture, population distribution, and nutritional difficulties through 1970. However, only three of these treat Pacific island populations and their food production agriculture, and none treat Tonga specifically. These papers are Chemical Composition of South Pacific Foods (Peters 1957), Dietary and Nutritional Problems in the Pacific (Massal 1954), and Some Food Problems in the Pacific Islands (McKee 1957).

125 and a calculation of their basic nutritional content. (While protein was of prime importance, the effect of other macro nutrients, fat, and carbohydrates were also considered as were dietary minerals including zinc, iron and copper.) A second method involved a brief physical examination of a sample of Tongan children. This included such observations as teeth (caries), hair, general body tone and structure, plus a tricep skinfold measurement taken in conjunction with upper arm circumference.

121 With regard to population increases, a mathematical compari-
128 son of migration from Tonga, to immigration into the nation, provided
[127] an accurate estimate of population totals. Combining this estimate
with data concerning growth in urban population and rural density, collected from census material, resulted in an indication of the distribution of population growth and migration potential.

121 Using agricultural data gathered from census materials and
127 ministerial reports, a brief historical outline (i.e., post-World
121 War II) of land usage patterns was developed. (The postwar period
evidenced the most rapid population growth.) This indicated developmental trends in specific aspects of agriculture, such as cash cropping, the spread of plant diseases, etc., which altered agricultural patterns. Trends in land utilization and land abandonment were established, such as tenancy, absentee landholding, etc.

121 Assessing the nutritional status of urban population and
125 geographically comparing these findings with rural inhabitants
became a major undertaking in itself. However, because alteration in nutritional status was to be related to urbanization only in

369 Considering the urban characteristics set forth by the South Pacific Commission as being applicable to the Pacific islands, it becomes apparent that the cities of Pangai, Neiafu, and Nuku'alofa can be defined as being urban centers. In the case of Mu'a, though larger than Pangai in terms of population, the lack of such urban characteristics as government, commerce, and economics eliminates it from urban classification, under the South Pacific Commission's definition.

162 Other population groupings of significance include church
795 training facilities and schools. The most important of these are
873 Salote College and Toloa Methodist Training College, sponsored by
874 the Wesleyan Methodist organization, and Liahona High School,
[162] sponsored by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Each of these include several hundred students and staff, many of whom live in housing provided by the respective schools.

874 Other groupings to be considered within this classification
162 are the training camp for the Tongan defense force and the police training facility, both on Tongatupa. The population of these two facilities, though largely transient, must be recognized.

161 The historical growth of Tongan population can only be
128 estimated through calculation of approximate numbers supported by
161 approximate tillable acreage. Therefore, figures representing the
128 population prior to the first census (1921) reflect educated guesses
127 supported at times by missionary estimates and head counts (Walsh 1970, p. 31). In addition, none of the censuses prior to 1956 can
161
127 be considered to be entirely reliable. McArthur stated that

161 fluctuations of the population of individual islands "are such as to
127 arouse considerable doubts of the accuracy of either the recording
or summarizing of the data" (McArthur 1968, p. 81).

161 It is generally assumed that an estimated pre-European population of 29,700 represents a reasonable figure. This estimate, by Maude (1965), takes into account the entire Tongan group and will suffice as a starting point from which a discussion of modern Tongan
[128] population can begin. Table 1 represents a summation of available population data, beginning with the pre-European period. Although it is recognized that the historical statistics prior to the 1956 census are primarily estimations, several broad conclusions can be
161 drawn from this table. An overall pattern of population decline
174 and recovery, common to most of the Pacific island groups, is evident throughout Tongan history. In addition, three contact phases, following Tasman's initial landing on Tongatupa, are suggested and supported within the historical population data of Table 1 (Tupouniua 1957, p. 17).

[165] Phase one, from 1643 to 1799, represents the period of Tongan history for which there are no records "of any large scale destruction through disease, and internal wars were totally unknown" (Tupouniua 1957, p. 17). This period began with Tasman's visit and continued until Cook's last contact with the islands. Due to the absence of wars and disease, a balanced population with a steady, if somewhat slow, growth rate can be assumed.

161 Phase two represents the civil war period, from 1800 to
165 1852, a period of "bewilderment and social disintegration marked by

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 26]